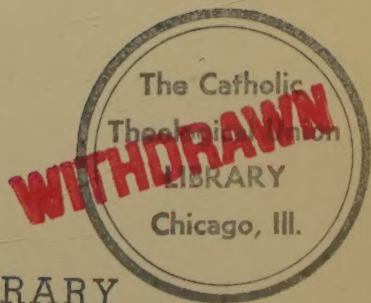


HISTORY OF CHURCH MUSIC

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CATHOLIC CHURCH MUSIC

Rev. Dr. WEINMANN



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AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CATHOLIC CHURCH MUSIC

from Its Origins to the Motu Proprio of Pope Pius X - 1903

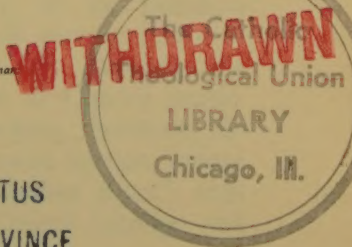
by

Rev. Dr. KARL WEINMANN

Translated from the German

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An Outline History of Catholic Church Music

Preface.

IT is nowadays thought necessary to accompany new publications with reasons justifying their existence. The author of the present work has, in this instance, an easy task; for it is the first attempt in this form; moreover, the only two valuable works on this subject (by R. Schlecht and J. Katschthaler) are either antiquated or out of print.

This work does not purpose to be a detailed "History of Church Music", based on the earliest sources and furnished with full scientific apparatus,—such a work, based on the author's lectures on musical history, at the Ratisbon School of Church music, will shortly follow—but a compendious exposition, showing the broad lines of development of Church music. This little treatise is not written, therefore, for the expert, but for the interested layman whose enthusiasm is strong for "Musica sacra", that point of crystallization of Church Liturgy and

Art. Therefore, exaggerated demands and expectations, which cannot be realized in a volume of such modest scope, are forthwith deprecated. The expert is, indeed, well aware, how difficult it is to compress into this limited space such an extensive theme, with regard to which scientific investigation has, particularly in the last decades, accomplished so much (and may even still be destined to discover, hidden away in the libraries, many a gem on which the dust of ages has accumulated); to do so, moreover, in a form which shall not merely avoid a dry enumeration of the many necessary names and dates, but shall vivify the intervening matter, concealing, as much as possible, the signs of often laborious research.

After mature deliberation, I have decided to deal separately with the individual musical species in their various phases of development, in order to make possible a clear view of the growth of monophonous, polyphonic, and instrumental music from infancy to maturity. How far the writer may have fallen short of the proposed goal must be left for expert professional criticism to decide: *quem (librum) sumant veri scientes ipsumque non invidia, sed sola caritate corrigan diminuta adimplendo et superflua diminuendo!*

I owe the warmest thanks to one of our first authorities on the subject of Plain Chant investigation, the director of the Gregorian Academy, Dr. Peter Wagner, Professor at the University of Freiburg, who kindly wrote the "History of Plain Chant". Cordial thanks are also due to the different Librarians, particularly those of the Royal Musical Library of Berlin, where, in the course of my research, the greatest consideration was shown me.

Ratisbon, June 1906.

The Author.

CONTENTS.

Preface	Page III
-------------------	-------------

History of Monophony.

Gregorian Chant.

Early History	1
Gregorian Liturgy and Chant	8
Theory of Gregorian Chant	22
Sequences and Tropes	35
Decay of Gregorian Chant	39
Restoration of Gregorian Chant	46

The German Hymn.

The Hymn before the Reformation	50
The Hymn during the Reformation	59
Catholic Hymns after the Reformation	67

History of Polyphony.

The Beginnings of Polyphony. Organum, Gimel, and Faux-Bourdon	73
Discant	79

The Netherland School.

The Musical Mission of the Netherlanders	83
The "Arts" of the Netherlanders	88
The First Netherland School	91
The Second Netherland School	93
Josquin de Près	94
Josquin's Contemporaries	98
Josquin's Successors	102
Orlandus Lassus	104

The Roman School.

	page
Palestrina's Predecessors	108
Palestrina	112
Palestrina's Contemporaries	118
Palestrina's Successors	121
The Last Survivors of the Roman School	127

The Neapolitan School. 130

The Venetian School.

The Early Venetian School	132
Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli	137
The Later Venetian School	142

The German Masters. 147

The English Masters. 158

Restoration of Church Music.

Kaspar Ett and Karl Proske	161
Franz Witt and the Cecilian Society	169

Instrumental Music.

Rise of Instrumental Music and its Gradual Secular- isation	182
Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven	186
Composers previous to the Restoration of Instrumental Music	194
The Organ and its Masters	195
John Sebastian Bach and George Frederic Handel	201
Revival of Catholic Organ Music	203
Literature	205
Alphabetical Index	211



History of Monophony.

Gregorian Chant.

Early History.

The period at which the liturgic songs of the Latin Church, the historic basis of our western music, were regarded as an altogether original creation of the West or of Rome, is long past. To-day, all investigators without exception are agreed that the roots of Latin Church music lie in the East. It is only with regard to the extent of the influence exercised by the East that definite results are not yet forthcoming. But Rome, for her part, has always been receptive and regulative rather than creative. From all parts of the Church forces operated upon the centre, where a place was assigned them in accordance with their peculiar characteristics. ✓

In general, the early history of music in the Christian Church has run parallel with the development of the Liturgy. But the latter was formulated in great part on the Jewish model; the Christian Office, especially, was developed in

close imitation of the practice of the Temple, or rather, the Synagogue. The vigil-celebration, which soon broke up into evening, night, and morning meetings, was the oldest form of this Christian service.

In the Christian prayer-meetings, in accordance with the custom of the Jewish Church, song possessed its undisputed rights. In both, psalter and psalmody were held in honour equally; indeed the Christians adopted the different musical practices of the Jews, above all that of the precentor singing the psalmody as a solo, the congregation joining in the refrain. This "*cantus responsorius*", as it was afterwards called, performed by the trained artist, readily adopted richer forms, especially at punctuation-points, the Orientals being at all times characterized by a predilection for vocalization. Among the Masoretic Bible-accent, according to the testimony of experts, there are still many which signify, not a single tone, but a whole modulation, a greater or less melisma. Christian singing-masters, likewise, used forms of this kind from the beginning, and melismatic singing forms a constituent part of Latin Church music from Apostolic times. Congregational responses, of course, had a simpler form. ✓

To the psalms, the Cantica related to them, and other biblical pieces, there were added, even at an early date, new creations of Chri

stian origin, which were composed for the most part in the poetic forms of the time, and were grouped together under the name of Hymns. While Christian psalmody carried on the musical forms of the Jews, the musical spirit of heathendom soon entered into the hymns.

Strangely enough, the specially Christian sacrificial rite, the Mass, remained, in its musical equipment, for a long time far behind the Office. The development of Church music started in the latter, which, from the beginning, was abundantly endowed with melody, whilst the admission of musical forms into the Mass, with the exception of the responsorial psalms between the readings, took place later. In the Middle Ages this relation was reversed. Since then, the Mass has enlisted far more artistic interest than the Office. And rightly; for the unbloody sacrifice of the New Testament stands naturally in the centre of the liturgic service. ✓

The freedom won with the blood of innumerable martyrs opened the way for the triumph of the new faith; at the same time, the liturgic and artistic forces of Christianity came into activity and a brilliant efflorescence took place in Church music in the seventies of the fourth century. The teaching and cult of Christ penetrated into every land, and with them the psalmody and other musical forms. The Alleluia-Chant made its appearance as a new creation; for, though previously cultivated by the Jews ✓

and organically bound up with a number of psalms, it now attained, as the triumphant chant of liberated Christendom, an increased popularity in the Liturgy as well as in public and private life. The musical peculiarity of the Alleluia-chant was a predilection for vocalization, which accompanied it throughout the entire history of liturgic singing. Trope was the name given to such melodies without words; their influence made itself felt within the Roman Liturgy up to the ultimate separation of the Roman and the Greek Churches.

It was chiefly the religious communities of the East, in Syria and Egypt, that furthered the development of liturgic and choral exercises. They introduced the daily vigil and, in addition, fixed hours of prayer during the day, and supplied by degrees the separate parts for the wonderful structure of the Office. A second form of psalmody, the choral psalmody, now attained a special significance. Originally executed by high and deep voices alternately — hence its name, antiphonal singing — it soon developed into the psalmody with a double chorus, in which those present sang alternately, divided into two choirs. A short introductory piece, called the antiphon, taken from the psalm itself or formed by the word Alleluia, indicated the pitch and the particular psalm-formula. The antiphon was not infrequently repeated after each verse of the psalm.

The antiphon, from its very nature, possessed a simple musical form, since not only the trained singers, but all the monks or priests took part in it. When the psalm was sung without any interpolation of a responsorial or antiphonal character, it was termed "*psalmus in directum*" and referred to as "*cantus directaneus*".

Henceforth, wherever a vigorous Christian spirit flourished, antiphony and hymnody were added to the responsorial psalmody, the earliest form of Church music indigenous in every community. They were admitted into Constantinople under St. John Chrysostom, into Milan by St. Ambrose (d. 397), who stands first in the history of western music as the mediator between East and West. ✓

From Milan they penetrated into the other Latin Churches, to Gaul, Spain and southern Italy. Rome, in all probability, became acquainted with both forms in the fourth century; at least the traditional supposition of a first ordering of the Roman Liturgy, under Pope Damasus, on the eastern model, is strengthened more and more by modern historic research. It is known that a Council met at Rome in 382, at which Greek and Syrian Bishops were present. This perhaps initiated the reform. It is difficult, indeed, to ascertain how far Oriental, particularly Greek, elements were taken over in this organisation of the liturgic Chant;

it is certain, however, that their influence predominated, for there is no evidence in those days of a creative activity on the part of Rome with regard to Church music.

The fifth and sixth centuries further developed the principles thus laid down, differentiating and fixing the existing liturgic and musical forms. The Office, as well as the Mass, gradually assumed fixed types. The Roman Church, once in possession of the musical achievements of the East, appears to have profited by the acquisition, and to have adapted it to its own needs. Already in the first half of the fifth century, under Pope Celestine I. (d. 432) the antiphon, hitherto belonging exclusively to the Office, was incorporated in the Mass, and thus was laid the foundation of the Gregorian *Introit*. The *Offertory* and the *Communion* chants, in antiphonic form, may also be traced to the same period, whilst the responsorial psalm between the readings of the Mass, belongs to the original music of the Mass.

The question when, and under what conditions, the different chants were assigned to the various days of the ecclesiastical year is, however, more important than the consideration of these innovations in mere details. It is certain that, for example, the standing Communion chant, in all the Latin Liturgies, as in those of the East, was at first Psalm 33. When a particular Communion text and chant were

introduced for each Mass is a question which, unfortunately, cannot yet be answered, while it touches the most significant point in the musical history of the fifth and sixth centuries. This distribution of the different chants unquestionably took place simultaneously for all kinds of Mass-music. In other words the question may be formulated: Who is the father of the "Proper" in the musical Massbook?

It is not impossible that this process may have passed through various stages. The names of several Popes are handed down to us who are said to have worked at the development of Church music, viz., Leo (d. 461), Gelasius (d. 496), Symmachus (d. 514), John (d. 526), Boniface (d. 532). It is not definitely known whether, or how far, this tradition is correct. From the history of Liturgy it can nevertheless be proved that, between 450 and 550, ✓ occurred the abbreviation of the original responsorial psalm between the readings to one or two verses, and therewith probably also the introduction of particularly rich melismatic formulæ, which now became the direct fore-runners of the Gregorian Gradual (cf. Wagner, "Introduction to Gregorian Melodies", Vol. I., p. 73 ff.).

Gregorian Liturgy and Chant.

As the gradual growth of the external forms of divine worship produced an ever-increasing demand for the musical element, a definite organisation and systematisation of liturgic functions entailed a similar regulation of the accompanying chants. This regulation was undertaken for the Roman Liturgy by Pope Gregory I. (d. 604). On this point all authorities on liturgic history are agreed. Neither is there any doubt as to the nature of this reform; it was in the main rather a codification than a fresh creation, although Gregory himself mentioned certain innovations. As the solemn Papal Liturgy was simply impossible without music, the regulation of the Papal Mass necessarily resulted in a similar regulation of the chants incorporated in it. Thus, from the seventh century, when the Roman Liturgy made its triumphant entry into the Latin world, both books, the liturgical, called *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* and the musical, called *Antiphonarium Gregorianum*, are met with simultaneously, and side by side. The ordering of the Mass chants under Pope Gregory the Great followed thus logically from the liturgic measures of the Pope. This view is, moreover, supported by numerous statements of historians, as well as by internal

evidence, deduced from the structure of the liturgic music itself (conf. Wagner, op. cit., p. 166 ff.). It may, however, be admitted that all kinds of unproven traits have been added by later legends to the historic nucleus, as for instance the personal activity of the Pope as musical composer. The material labour of musical codification must rather have rested on the shoulders of the singers of the *Schola Cantorum*, which had already existed for a long time in Rome, but which was roused to more intense activity by Gregory. With regard to the connection between the Gregorian Chant and its predecessors, numerous data favour the theory that the Gregorian Chant was a modification, carried out in accordance with *uniform* principles, of the Chant which was till then customary in Rome and throughout Italy. That in this process its oriental characteristics were adapted in many points to the new requirements is obvious, but can no longer be proved in detail. The organisation of Church music under Gregory certainly marks an important stage in the complete Latinization which Church music, Eastern in origin, later transplanted to the West, underwent in the Middle Ages, and which was necessary if Roman Church music was to take a leading rôle in the musical development of the West. Upon the *Schola Cantorum* primarily devolved the task of spreading the Gregorian Chant. The

latter, however, always appears allied to the Roman Gregorian Liturgy.

In Italy the Church of Milan alone was able to withstand permanently the innovation; numerous efforts did not succeed in depriving it of its Liturgy and the Chant appertaining thereto. No less a person than St. Charles Borromeo himself succeeded in obtaining the ultimate recognition by the Papacy, which has ever since held it in honour.

In Spain, the Gregorian Chant and the Gregorian Liturgy were not accepted till the 11th century, under Gregory VII; in a few churches the Spanish (or Mozarabic) Liturgy and its Chant still survive.

England became acquainted with the liturgic and musical reform under Gregory himself. Repeatedly during the 7th and 8th centuries the union with Rome was re-affirmed, and by the end of the 8th century all the churches followed the Roman practice in Liturgy and music.

In Franconia and Allemania, Pepin and Charlemagne worked actively to bring about uniformity with Rome. Bishop Chrodegang founded at Metz a School of Music which up to the 12th century enjoyed great prestige. Under Charlemagne the reform was carried on with particular energy. Numerous synods and decrees helped to complete the work begun by Pepin, and by the time of Charlemagne's death

the Gregorian had supplanted the old Gallican Chant throughout the entire Empire, though not without a considerable struggle. Especially the Oriental manner of ornamentation which had been preserved in Roman melodies, seems to have found little favour with the Northern singers. As early as the 9th century it began to be replaced by simpler and quieter figures, and this practice soon became general.

The adaptation of the Gregorian Liturgy, primarily intended for solemn papal functions, to simpler Northern conditions produced changes in its extent and structure which shall be dealt with later. The work of Amalarius of Metz is of special interest in this connexion, for with his name is associated an arrangement of the Office, uniting Roman and Frankish elements, and thus creating the basis of a living Liturgy for the whole of the Middle Ages.

The numerous Schools of Music which arose everywhere in imitation of the Roman *Schola* soon brought the Roman Chant into great vogue. Cathedrals and monasteries vied with one another in its cultivation, and it supplied artistic pabulum to the entire Christian community, which then participated in liturgic ceremonies to an extent no longer customary.

The use of musical forms in the Gregorian Liturgy and their medieval development may be briefly explained here. With regard to the Mass, in the first place, its artistic formation

is characterized by the intimate union between Liturgy and singing.

The High Mass is divided among the celebrant, the lectors (or Scripture readers), and the singers. Corresponding to this distribution there were three ritual books, the sacramentary, for the prayers of the priest at the altar, the lectionary and Gospel-book for the scriptural readings, and the antiphonary for the singers. Whatever was assigned to the choir and the soloist was, at first, their exclusive property, and the celebrant had not then to say the choral text as he now does. The liturgic position of the singers is, accordingly, more purely external at present; they embellish the sacred act, without adding anything essential, for it is incumbent upon the celebrant to recite the musical texts himself, whether these happen to be sung by the choir or not. The present practice may probably be traced to the time when the rite of the Gregorian Mass, originally always a High-Mass, was transferred to the Low-Mass, which was, up to then, celebrated according to the pre-Gregorian rite. In the 11th century all parts of the Mass, prayers, readings, and music, were collected in one book, the "*Missale plenarium*", the immediate predecessor of our present missal. ✓

Everything that is sung in the Mass may be brought under one of the following heads:
— 1. Prayers and invocations of the celebrant,

with the responses of the faithful and scriptural readings; 2. Psalmodic chant; 3. Hymn-like pieces.

The psalmodic pieces alter their texts and their music with each particular Feast-day. For this reason they are called, since the end of the Middle Ages, the "*Proprium Missæ*", this being divided into the "*Proprium de Tempore*" and "*de Sanctis*". Originally the musical pieces followed the order of the ecclesiastical year; the Feasts of the Saints were not separated until afterwards from the Dominical Feasts. The hymn-like pieces never alter their texts; for that reason they are called the *Ordinarium Missæ*.

The prayers of the celebrant, lections of the reader, and responses of the congregation were simple in character and were always delivered in a speaking tone, though they were somewhat richer and more varied than is customary since the 16th century. On Feast days particularly, the old *Toni* and *Accentus*, as they were called, delighted the people by interesting and varied movements, such as are now in use only among a few of the old Orders. These pieces had less influence on the artistic development of the Mass. The other sections, namely the *Proprium* and *Ordinarium*, furnish the real music of the Mass.

The psalmodic pieces are divided, according to the oldest traditions, into solo and cho-

ral psalmody. The solos were, as was proper, magnificent, highly -developed melodies; the choral chants, on the other hand, were simpler. These antiphons were always merely accompanying chants; they but served to embellish the Liturgy of the Mass. Their musical structure is well adapted to this, inasmuch as it never intrudes, always remaining modestly in the background and never distracting the attention from the ceremony, — as, for example, the Introit and the Communion, accompanying the entry of the celebrant and the administration of the Holy Communion. The solos, the Gradual, the Alleluia with its verse, and the Tract, occupied a different position in the Liturgy. From Apostolic times down they possess their own rights, and while they are chanted everyone attends, including the Pontiff at the altar.

The latter in the case of antiphonal singing gives a sign to indicate, when the particular ceremony to be accompanied has ceased, and the choir must likewise cease. On the other hand, when the soloist was singing, no liturgic consideration restrained him from displaying his art. Thus, in Gregory's arrangement of the Mass, the musical performance is adapted to its liturgic environment.

The solo chants are three in number: The Gradual, the Alleluia Chant and the Tract.

I. The *Responsorium Graduale*. Even before Gregory's time the *psalmus responsorius*

between the readings of the Mass was shortened, so that, besides the introductory sentence, or *Responsorium*, only one verse remained. Up to the thirteenth century, the Response was repeated after the verse, but not subsequently. While, therefore, the responsorial form of the chant disappeared, its solo character remained, a fact which seems all the less objectionable seeing that, already in the sixth century, the responsorial part also, which was to be executed by the liturgic choir before and after the verse, had assumed a richer form, the whole chant being thus made uniform in character. The term *Gradual* comes from the steps (*gradus*) of the „ambo”, the raised platform, from which the cantor sang his solo. Formerly this chant was the artistic climax of the Mass; in its unabbreviated form it enjoys even nowadays many rare artistic advantages.

II. The *Alleluia Chant* was especially favoured in the East. It came into the Roman Church under Pope Damasus (d. 384); Gregory the First prescribed it for all Sundays and Holidays of the year; to him also may probably be traced the association with the verse which it still preserves. If the length of the melismata required it, two verses were added. These additional verses, however, were omitted in the Missal of Trent. The richness in melismata which always distinguished this

chant, gave the old liturgists occasion for mystical interpretations. As the opening part, the Alleluia with the so-called Jubilus, continued to be repeated after the verse, the responsorial style of delivery was here retained.

III. On Fast-days it was replaced by the *Tractus*, from *tractim*, uninterruptedly, without interpolation of any kind. It is, therefore, allied to the *Cantus Directaneus* of the olden time. There is much to support the theory that in the musical form of this chant, usually long-drawn-out, are preserved the last remnants of the style of the Gradual psalm before its transformation into the Gradual Responsory.

The choral chants are the *Antiphonæ ad Introitum* and *ad Communione*, called for shortness Introit and Communion. Their history is almost identical. Originally each was a psalm delivered antiphonally, that is, after each of the verses, sung by alternate choirs, the Antiphon, or opening part, was repeated. Afterwards abbreviations were made and the mediæval singing-books hand down several stages of this process. The result is that at the Introit there remains only one verse of the psalm with the lesser Doxology, and at the Communion no trace of the psalm survives. Hence, at the Communion the old antiphonal style has completely disappeared. The *Offertory* takes up a middle position between the antiphonal singing and the responsorial. It, too,

must have been treated at first like the Introit and the Communion, for like these it is called from the beginning, Antiphon. In its musical character, however, it is, in all available old documents, a richly developed solo chant containing verses, after which the opening part was entirely or in part repeated, that is to say, a genuine Responsory. Evidently the singers of the *Schola Cantorum* elaborated thus brilliantly the originally simple chant in order to fill up with it the time occupied by the presentation of the offerings. In the later Middle Ages the verses dropped out, and now only in the Mass for the Dead is a trace of them to be found.

The *Ordinary* of the Mass did not belong originally to the duties of the *Schola Cantorum*, but to the priests assisting at the altar and to the community in general. The singers did not assume possession of these pieces and change their original simple musical character until the tenth and eleventh centuries. Elaborate chants took then the place of the syllabic recitative, and the Credo alone succeeded in maintaining its simple recitative style.

The various pieces of the *Ordinary* may be traced to the East. The Greek words of the *Kyrie Eleison* are still preserved, but the fixing of the number of invocations at three times three (while they were previously adapted to the length of the ceremonies) as well as the

insertion of the *Christe Eleison*, are distinctive features of the Gregorian Liturgy. The *Gloria in Excelsis* entered at an early date into the Roman Mass, at first into the Christmas Mass and then into the Mass of Sundays and Holidays. Even in Latin Churches the Greek version (δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ) was preserved in many cases. The *Sanctus* originally formed the musical continuation of the priest's Preface, and its original rendering is still preserved in the Mass for the Dead. The same happens with the *Agnus Dei*, but this is a later form, not having been incorporated in the Roman Mass until the seventh century, by Sergius I. (d. 701). The *Credo* was the last piece incorporated in the Mass. In the year 589, it was taken into the Mass by the Spanish Bishops, and did not penetrate to Rome till the eleventh century, being introduced before the sacrificial act in substitution for the sermon of the celebrant. The changes which the musical forms of the Office, the Responses, Antiphons, and Hymns, underwent, were less radical.

The *responsory* song has its privileged place in the earlier parts of the Office, namely, in the Nocturns, the successors of the Vigils, whilst in the later Horæ the antiphonal psalmody prevails. In the Office, as in the Mass, the Responsory Psalm was gradually reduced to the introductory piece with one or a few

verses. As the former was always entirely or partly repeated after the latter, and is still so repeated, the responsorial character is here maintained — differing in this from the Mass, where nothing is repeated after the Gradual verses. In Gaul it was customary, even in early times, to repeat after the verses not the whole Responsory but only the latter part, a custom which soon extending to Rome abolished the original Roman custom of complete repetition. The musical structure of the Office Responsory, which proceeds by graceful alternation of solo and chorus, is of a melismatic character.

The *Cantus Antiphonus* almost fills up the *Officium Diurnum*, though it is also admitted into the Nocturns. In contradistinction to the Responsorial Psalm of the Mass and the Office, and even to the Antiphons of the Mass, the Antiphonal Office-Psalm always remained complete, although it was found necessary to repeat the Antiphon, not after every verse, but at first only after some verses, then before and after the Doxology, and finally only at the end of the psalm. The history of the antiphonal chants of the Office turns almost exclusively on this technical point of the repetition of the Antiphon; its different stages have left behind interesting traces in the old books. Present day practice gives a place to the Antiphon only before and after the psalm; in some cases even

the utterance of the first words of the Antiphon before the psalm suffices, whilst the whole Antiphon is sung only at the end. The last phase in the development of the Antiphon is reached, when the name Antiphon is given to pieces which contain nothing of the old antiphonal style, neither psalm nor psalm-verse. The so-called Antiphons of the Blessed Virgin are among the earliest examples of this development.

The Antiphons, as well as the psalm formulæ appertaining thereto, are, musically considered, of great simplicity, as befits the character of choral chant. Only on Feast-days and at the *Benedictus* of the Lauds or the *Magnificat* of Vespers did the musical utterance rise spontaneously to higher flights.

The *Hymns* introduced into the West by St. Ambrose had to suffer in the first centuries of Christianity and from time to time in the Middle Ages from a too rigid censorship, which desired to banish from the Liturgy all musical texts that were not biblical in character. The growth of liturgic poetry and composition could not, however, be thus impeded. The hymns received a place in different parts of the Office, but were not admitted in Rome until the twelfth century, though they were already for a considerable time in use everywhere else.

Their form followed classical models which

had regained favour under the influence of Saint Ambrose. Besides the iambic dimeter, preferred by St. Ambrose, we also meet the trochaic dimeter, the hexameter, the sapphic, asclepiadic, and other metres. Gradually, however, the quantitative measurement of syllables was replaced by the qualitative and rhythmic, which takes into account, not whether syllables are long or short, but whether they are accented or unaccented. This change ran parallel with the abandonment of metric rendering, its place being taken by the *Cantus Planus*, of which we shall treat later. Assonance and rhyme also found their way into the Latin hymnody. As far as musical form went, hymns were first composed syllabically and in accordance with the metre. But here, too, the Middle Ages soon did away with the quantitative delivery, setting up instead a style of singing little influenced by the metre of the text, and causing the hymns to approximate in character to other musical forms.

The most distinguished composers of hymns after St. Ambrose are: Sedulius (5th century), Claudius Mamertus (d. 473), Pope Gelasius (d. 496), Venantius Fortunatus (d. c. 600), the Venerable Bede (d. 733), Paul Warnefrid (d. 797), &c.

..

Theory of Gregorian Chant.

A uniform musical practice for the entire ecclesiastical year was naturally impossible without certain empirical rules. A number of principles based entirely on practice had, therefore, to be handed down from the beginning from teacher to pupil, especially in the singing schools. Undoubtedly Plain Chant theory originated in Syria, where, in the fourth century, sacred music began to be cultivated. Thence the practice and the theoretic conceptions bearing thereon spread to Egypt, Greece, and the Latin Church. It is a gross exaggeration to regard St. Ambrose as a great musical theorist and to ascribe to him the establishment of four modes. Such a thought never occurred to him. Nevertheless, the practice of the Antiphony demanded the knowledge of certain rules, and in this sense the great ecclesiastical teacher encouraged the theoretic treatment of Church music. The same remark applies to those late medieval writers who ascribed the structure of the eight-mode system to St. Gregory. At the same time one must not disregard the fact that musical theory — as adopted from the East and further saturated with Greek elements on its way into the Latin Churches, in Byzantium for instance, — did not give up in the Latin Church its connection with Greek

models until the East finally separated from Rome in the great Schism.

With the growth of learning in the Carolingian era, liturgic music passed from the singing school to the study. In the monastery and cathedral schools music became a compulsory subject in the curriculum, and accordingly received theoretic treatment. Unfortunately, a way was thus entered upon which in the light of our knowledge of the development of Plain Chant theory must be regarded as misleading. The existing chants were not examined with a view to find out their theoretic foundations, nor was the sum total of practical rules of previous theory developed. Whatever the output of original work by the Latin theorists from the ninth century, it was mostly drawn from the classical writers on music, and taken, moreover, as the writers themselves were often ignorant of Greek, from the Latins, particularly from the works of Boetius (d. 524), Cassiodorus, and Martianus Capella, who were entirely under the spell of classical speculation. Thus the technical apparatus of the classical musical terminology was gradually applied to a product in many points so essentially different as was the sacred music of the period.

Medieval Theory, as found in the writers on liturgic music, is, therefore, neither the Theory of the Practice of that time, nor yet is it exclusively drawn from a dead art; it is

difficult, therefore, to indicate the elements which lend themselves to the reconstruction of Plain Chant Theory now so urgently needed. (Elements even from Arabian music found their way subsequently into Plain Chant Theory.)

First among medieval theorists is Alcuin (d. 804). In his manual on the Fine Arts, he devotes a brief portion to music, mentioning only the four authentic and the four plagal modes. That was enough for the students of the time, the rest belonged to the singing lesson. His successors began the eclectic juxtaposition of extracts from earlier authors: Aurelianus Reomensis uncritically inserts in the first part of his "*Musica Disciplina*" pieces from Boetius, Isidor, Cassiodor, and Alcuin; the second part of the work is, however, very valuable, because he expounds exhaustively the ordinary practical rules governing Plain Chant during the ninth century. His younger contemporary, Remigius of Auxerre, merely comments on Martianus Capella. Among the writers of the tenth century is Hucbald of St. Amand, who, in his works (*Liber de Harmonica Institutione*, &c.), seeks to unite the conceptions of Boetius with those of the Middle Greeks. The treatises of two monks of St. Gall, Notker Balbulus and Notker Labeo, throw instructive light upon the work of that monastery. A compiler of the first order is Regino of Prüm, while the works

that have come down to us under the name of Odo are very important. To the eleventh century belongs Guido of Arezzo, who endeavoured to free the Theory of liturgic music from the fetters of Boetius (*Micrologus de Disciplina Artis Musicae* &c.), and whose influence in the organisation of musical instruction was decisive. His method was soon extended, and became, throughout the entire Middle Ages, the basis of teaching, though, for example, the Guidonian Hand and Solmisation can be traced to him only in an indirect manner. Berno of Reichenau and Hermannus Contractus laboured further at the structure of medieval Theory. Wilhelm von Hirschau followed in Hermann's footsteps. The writings of Aribo Scholasticus and of the Englishman, John Cotton, contain much valuable information. In the 12th century mensural music, which had just come into vogue, claimed the attention of theorists and began to assume the firm, unalterable form which distinguished it in the later Middle Ages. The Cistercian reform of Plain Chant called forth some works, as, for example, those of St. Bernard and Guido of Cherlieu. Johannes de Garlandia, Walter of Odington, Jerome of Moravia, Elias Salomo, and Marchettus of Padua flourished in the 13th century, and, in the 14th, Johannes de Muris and Engelbert of Admont, not to mention subsequent writers.

... The central point of this teaching was,

from the beginning, the Eight-mode system, or Octoechus. Practice constantly lead up to it. It was probably developed in Syria at an early date from the old Greek Theory and in accord with the liturgic practice of the time; thence it penetrated to the West, probably as early as the 4th century, together with the antiphony constructed upon it. Here it gradually assumed a new form more suitable to the Latin Chant, which was not quite identical with the medieval Greek Octoechus.

The division of the eight modes into four authentic and four plagal, each plagal corresponding to an authentic, is found in the East as well as the West. Originally it was probably based on the fact that in each mode there are melodies of high and of low range; the former were authentic, the latter plagal. In its finished Latin form the Octoechus is arranged as follows: —

<i>Protus authenticus, Modus primus,</i>	} Final D.
<i>Dorius, D-d</i>	
<i>„ plagius, Modus secundus,</i>	
<i>Hypodorius, A-a</i>	

<i>Deuterus authenticus, Modus tertius,</i>	} Final E.
<i>Phrygius, E-e</i>	
<i>„ plagius, Modus quartus,</i>	
<i>Hypophrygius, B-b</i>	

<i>Tritus authenticus,</i>	<i>Modus quintus,</i>	} Final F.
	<i>Lydius, F-f</i>	
„ <i>plagius,</i>	<i>Modus sextus,</i>	
	<i>Hypolydius C-c</i>	
<i>Tetrardus authenticus,</i>	<i>Modus septi-</i>	} Final G.
	<i>mus, Mixolydius G-g</i>	
„ <i>plagius,</i>	<i>Modus octavus,</i>	
	<i>Hypomixolydius, D-d</i>	

This succession of modes is based on perfectly diatonic tone-relations. At most the lowering of the key B natural by a half-tone is permitted by the theory. According to the latest investigations, there is no doubt that liturgic music originally also employed pretty extensively the chromatic scale; not only have the existence of F sharp and E flat been proved, but also many signs of the oldest liturgic notation refer to half-tone steps of all kinds, which occurred with special frequency in the ornaments of Oriental character. The strict carrying out of the modal system was one of the causes by which liturgic music became gradually diatonic, so that of the non-diatonic steps only B flat remained, which already existed in the Synemmenon-tetrachord of the classical prototype. It was found possible to dispense with the other altered steps by transposition of the whole or part of the melody and in other ways.

The corresponding authentic and plagal modes have the same fundamental note, which appears also as Final. The chants which conform to the Octoechus conclude with D, E, F or G. Within the melody the tonic has less significance, and there are numerous pieces in which it occurs but seldom, sometimes merely as Final. Musical Theory nevertheless was, from the 11th century, preparing for a development by which the tonic was gradually to dominate the entire melody, and in many late-medieval pieces the tonic is used, not only as a Final, but also as opening and concluding note of each musical period.

Pieces which had to be transposed to avoid non-diatonic steps or for other reasons, received other Finals; thus arose the Affinales A and C. Some theorists built on these notes new modes, which, in the later Middle Ages, were provided with special names: Æolian and Hypo-æolian (authentic and plagal Æolian), and Ionic and Hypo-ionic (authentic and plagal Ionic). Thus resulted authentic and plagal forms on D, E, F, G, A and C, 12 in all, and the Theory of this twelve-mode system was formulated chiefly by Glarean in the 16th century. When an authentic and plagal mode was likewise assigned to B, there resulted 14 modes, which were sometimes set up in liturgic music.

There are also musical forms which do not follow the normal Octoechus, as, for instance,

almost the entire liturgic recitatives and the simple forms of choral psalmody. Their formal principle is the reciting note, called, in the psalmody, the Tenor, in the liturgical readings, the Tuba. Whilst the Octoechus is Syro-Greek, these pieces seem derived from Synagogic models. As soon, however, as Church music was regulated in the West, it was found necessary to divide the recitative forms likewise according to modes, and so the simple psalmodic formulae of the antiphony belong at present to one or other of the eight modes, though the formula for the first mode, for instance, is generally rendered in such a manner that the tonic D belonging to it does not occur even once. The Tenors were so arranged that each authentic mode had assigned to it the fifth of the Final, each plagal mode the third. Thus the Tenor of the 3rd and 8th mode was at first B; at an early epoch C was substituted, although numerous traces of the former custom are still preserved. This interchange of B and C forms one of a series of interesting alterations which took place when the style of singing became latinized. The Tenor A of the 4th mode may be similarly explained. To the eight psalm-tones (or *toni*) which correspond to the eight modes, there was added in the 9th century the so-called "*tonus peregrinus*", which, in the light of recent investigation, must undoubtedly be assigned an

Oriental origin. In it the two half-verses have different Tenors, whilst the simple choral psalmody does not change the Tenor within the same formula.

With regard to the rhythm of the Gregorian Chant uncertainty prevailed for a long time. This, however, is beginning to diminish, and we can now trace its development clearly, at least in broad outline. As long as East and West stood in intimate ecclesiastical and artistic relation, the Chant probably preserved in the main its original rhythm. This rhythm grew out of the roots of classical Greek rhythm and specifically Oriental and Hebrew elements. The former probably predominated in the more developed forms of sacred music, the latter in the more purely recitative pieces, the simple psalmody and the liturgical readings. A system working with conventional rhythmic forms co-existed with one based on recitative. Some critics hold that the modern method of marking, by movements of the hand, the *Chronos*, (the uniform Oriental rhythmic measure, capable of being broken up into lesser values and of being doubled and trebled) existed even in olden time and also in the original Gregorian music. The antiquity of this system, however, has not yet been proved. If one examines without prejudice the statements of the Latin writers, another theory of rhythm intrudes itself, which is derived from the metric system of

the ancient classics. A short German treatise of the 10th century, recently published from the Vatican archives and constituting the only circumstantial document of the earlier Plain Chant rhythmic system, interprets the elements of the liturgic notation rhythmically and sets up two values, the *Longa* and the *Brevis*, obviously understood in the classical sense, the *Virga* being double the *Brevis*. Hence arises for the liturgic chants a rhythm composed of long and short. We should, however, go very much astray, were we to attempt to enter into further details and to build up a formal system of the ancient rhythm as a regular combination of long and short notes. Such a system did not exist, everything must have been treated empirically and the information available is not sufficient to enable us to reconstruct any system.

'*Cantus doctus*' or '*accuratus*' was the name given to musical delivery which conformed to metrical relations. But side by side with it, there was a tendency which took less account of such rhythmical distinctions, and rendered the melodies with an equal movement and adopted, especially in syllabic texts, the rhythm of spoken language. The former was the learned method of delivery, the latter, the more simple and popular; it based its justification upon the liturgic recitative, which had existed from the very beginning and now came to dominate sacred music completely. This

free rhythmic rendering was called, from the 12th century onwards, '*Cantus planus*' and formed, henceforth, the generally accepted traditional method of singing liturgic chants, while the earlier metrical form had its continuation in the rhythm of the '*Musica mensurata*'.

A short exposition of the development of *liturgic notation* may conclude this part. It, too, comes from the East, but it has taken over Latin additions. The name Neums (from νεῦμα, nod) refers to its connexion with the gestures of the conductor of the choir. Among the numerous signs forming the Neum-notation, we must discriminate those which bear on the musical structure and those which serve merely ornamental ends. The former are mostly diatonic in character, consist of rectilinear strokes or points and are ultimately derived from the accents, while the latter have a hooked form and usually indicate chromatic or other embellishments. In their earliest employment they are placed together over the texts, so that the arrangement of the musical line is brought out clearly, for whatever appears closely together in the notation, forms a connected phrase.

In their earlier stages the neums, with few exceptions, do not indicate the exact distance of the intervals, but only the movement up or down. The motions of the conductor's hands, or *chironomy*, which represent the inter-

vals more exactly, supply what the neums lack in this respect. The singers were at first accustomed to sing by rote, without a music-book, with the support of the chironomy; hence this form of the neums is called chironomical.

Whilst the neums in the Greek Church have remained stationary down to the present time in the undeveloped stage just described, in the Latin Church they shared in the changes undergone by Roman sacred music, and, in the process of Latinization of the elements borrowed from the East, they attained a form perfect in its kind. The invention of the staff-line is the great achievement of western musical development, a most promising innovation of the period which beheld the Greek Church dissolving partnership with the Latin. Prepared by many experiments, it gave rise to a reform as early as the first half of the 11th century under Guido of Arezzo, the fruits of which mankind still enjoys, the staff-system which with exact fixture of each separate note and the intervals brought in its train a gigantic revolution in the study and practice of sacred music, the significance and benefit of which were then hardly realized. Memory, hitherto the chief preservative of traditional sacred music, now resigned its task to parchment, and the functions of the chironomical conductor passed over to the singers, who now turned their attention to the written symbol of the

music-book. The tradition itself became steadier and more uniform, as it was now in possession of every means that could guarantee a sufficiently pure rendering of the old melodies.

The further history of liturgic notation shows the development of the innovations. Guido's four-line staff was retained, with its use of adjacent lines to represent the interval of a third; the clefs at the beginning of each line and the guide at the end and in transposition were also retained. Only the form of the note itself needed alteration. In the 12th century the "*nota quadrata*", the so-called Plain Chant note, developed in France, doubtless under the influence of a new writing-instrument which formed angular signs exclusively. All neums, whether simple neums for one note or in groups, assumed the quadratic form. The ornamental signs had, indeed, already for the most part disappeared by the 11th century, or had been changed into the firm forms of the other signs. Theory, which had gained support from the classical system, had long since prepared the way for the diatonization of the melodies. The system of notation, which also arranged for diatonic succession exclusively, completed the process, so that from the 12th century in France and Italy, where the quadratic system attained undisputed sway, the diatonization and latinization of the Gregorian Chant was complete. In Germany alone the original neum-type was

faithfully adhered to, and the quadratic form rejected. The usual form of liturgic notation which prevailed in Germany after the Middle Ages, was the Gothic, the later forms of which, on account of their thick and somewhat shapeless exterior, were called "Hufnagelschrift" (horseshoe-nail writing). This type, as well as the Latin quadratic, passed over into the prints of the Plain Chant books, in vogue from the end of the 15th century. As a result of the later efforts to unify Plain Chant, the Gothic type disappeared definitely, and to-day the quadratic is adopted exclusively throughout the Church using the Roman Liturgy.

Sequences and Tropes.

The process of latinizing the forms borrowed from the East is seen in a specially marked manner in the sequences and tropes, which first made their appearance in the Carolingian era and originated chiefly in the monastery of St. Gall. According to the tradition of the monastery, a monk, who had fled from Gimeidia, brought with him in his chant book some verses modulated to sequences. Recent investigation, however, discloses the fact that the "*Sequentiae*" were Oriental Alleluia-chants, lengthy vocalizations, to which the St. Gall monk Notker (d. 912) added texts borrowed from

the above mentioned model. The Oriental origin of the new form is shown indisputably by the increased length of the vocalisations (for which there was no place in the Gregorian liturgy, since Gregory the Great had supplied the Alleluja-chant with verses) and by the peculiar Semitic notation of these chants, from right to left, which is found in the oldest existing manuscripts (Cod. 484 of St. Gall). It must also be added that the oldest sequences of Notker, as well as those of his first German successors, belong, in the arrangement of the verses, entirely to the Middle Greek (or Byzantine) hymnody, while no single analogue is to be found for their structure in any of the Latin hymns since the time of St. Ambrose. The musical style of the oldest sequences finally shows many peculiarities foreign to Latin music, but found in Byzantine.

Of the sequences at present in use in the Liturgy, the Easter sequence of Wipo, '*Victimae paschali*', alone recalls the structure of Notker's sequence. Five pairs of strophes follow an introduction of two verses of eight and seven syllables respectively. The strophes contain from two to four verses with an unequal number of syllables, the parallel-strophes corresponding to one another in the number of the verses, their syllables and musical treatment. For dogmatic reasons the fifth strophe has, indeed, now disappeared, while the strophe correspond-

ing to it is retained (cf. Wagner, *op. cit.* p. 234). Each syllable has only a single note, a special characteristic of the sequences.

The first period in the composition of sequences is filled by Notker and his followers, who lived chiefly in Allemania. The second period is connected with the products of the monastery of St. Martial in Limoges, which arose independently of the St. Gall model. It reached its zenith in the 12th century in Adam of St. Victor in Paris, in whose works the form, constructed upon the Greek model, gradually approached that of the hymn and was finally completely merged in it. The introductory and closing pieces have ere this disappeared, all the strophes are uniform in the number of their verses, and these again are uniform in the number of syllables and the succession of accents. In this form the sequence found still greater favour than in its older guise, and sequences continued to be composed into the 16th century. On account of their syllabic style they enjoyed from the beginning great popularity and formed one of the sources of the liturgic folk-song. As, however, they forced into the background the older and more essential parts of Church music, the Church in the Missal of the Council of Trent limited their number to five.

The numerous Byzantine musicians, who sojourned in the West during the 9th and 10th

centuries introduced among the Franks other melismatic forms besides the sequences, namely the *tropes*. The name "*Tropus*" was given, at an early period, to a textless succession of tones, which served as material for liturgic chants; in essence, all the Alleluia-chants were tropes. In order to give the tropes a place in the Gregorian Liturgy, Tuotilo of St. Gall (d. cir. 915) first hit upon the expedient of interpolating them among existing forms and supplying them with a text. In this manner interpolations were introduced into all the Mass-chants, with the exception of the Credo, to which no one dared to add anything. The tropes were sometimes very extensive in character, so that, as in many interpolated Introits, the addition could scarcely be distinguished from the original text. On Feast-days the Mass was frequently opened by a somewhat lengthy introduction, which, as a kind of vocal prologue, then ran on into the Introit. Soon composers went on to treat the melismata, which existed from early times in liturgic music, as tropes and to supply them with texts. In this manner the melismata of the Kyrie and those occurring in the Offertory were converted into tropes, but a syllabic text-treatment was nearly always observed. The tropes as well as the sequences, in a short time found favour in many churches. But as they were an inorganic addition to the Liturgy, and as they threatened to undermine

in many ways the venerable structure of sacred music, they were entirely suppressed by the Missal and Breviary of the Council of Trent, and it was only by way of exception that some tropes were retained, as, for example, in the Church of Lyons, until as late as the 18th century.

The last product which established itself in the Liturgy was the Office in poetic form, which, from the 10th century, was in vogue for local saints and patrons. The musical texts of the Mass, the Ordinary of course excepted, and the antiphons and responses of the Office (the latter called *historiae*) were here given a poetic form. This new Office had some prototype in poetic pieces found in the old Office (apart from the hymns). In the 12th century great perfection of form was attained. From the point of view of Plain Chant history the development is noteworthy for an innovation of a particular character, the arrangement, namely, of the pieces in the order of the eight modes, existing to-day, for example, in the *Corpus Christi* Office.



Decay of Gregorian Chant.

In spite of the much-cited Latinization of the Gregorian chant its transmission throughout the whole of the Middle Ages was wonderfully exact. Its unity is all the more striking when we

compare it with the transmission of the liturgic chants of the Oriental Church. The latest investigation with regard to the transmission of the Greek chants of the Middle Ages reveals numerous variants of such far-reaching significance that, with the exception of the texts, the different versions possess but little in common. It is otherwise with the many documents bearing on Latin musical practice up to the end of the 16th century. The graphic differences, which cause the chant-books belonging to various districts and periods to appear at first sight so unlike, may be easily explained by the differences of writing materials and such mechanical causes. No one thought of making a substantial change; if objection were raised on aesthetic grounds, it was made so modestly, recognising at the same time the fundamental traditional qualities of liturgic music, as handed down from age to age, that no considerable damage ensued. We may instance the reform of the Cistercians and the Dominicans in the 12th and 13th centuries.

A real danger arose for monophonous Church music through the introduction of polyphony and through the humanistic movement, which influenced, especially in Italy, the musicians of the 16th century. It was inevitable that the art which worked with such powerful means as polyphonic music had at its disposal, should interfere with the more modest mono-

phonous music. In the eyes of those who favoured the new tendency, the old liturgic style soon lost its own artistic interest; it was merely employed in the working out of the newly-appointed themes. By degrees, one or other liturgic piece was ousted by its polyphonic counterpart and the sovereignty of the Gregorian Chant in the Church was thereby ended for ever. Nevertheless the latter was much too closely bound up with the Liturgy for the development of musical art to endanger its existence immediately. The eminently liturgic character of Plain Chant and its privileged position in Church music had to be recognized universally.

With the more active cultivation of polyphonic music and its acceptance in the Church, a certain carelessness regarding the peculiar character of liturgic music arose. The artistic portion of mankind began to transform their musical taste in accordance with the rules of the new art; wherever the two styles differed, the characteristics of the new style were adopted unhesitatingly. Thus the critic detects in many chant-books from the 14th century on, together with general negligence, the incidental influence of polyphonic music in the treatment of the underlying text and the tonality. Nevertheless other books in greater number offer up to the 16th century a very reliable text, proving thus that the classical

polyphony and the traditional features of Plain Chant music were not necessarily hostile to each other, but rather that a peaceful separation of both spheres of influence, which should insure the preservation of the elements peculiar to each, was, and still continues to be, quite feasible.

The immediate cause of the fall of the Gregorian Chant was the influence of Humanism on the musicians of the 16th century and their aesthetic criticism of Plain Chant. The musical writers who had imitated the Ancients began to raise several kinds of objections against the traditional peculiarities of the old music. This excessive admiration of the Ancients, coupled with the dislike of the Middle Ages, extended in turn to practical musicians, and a reform of Plain Chant began to be mooted. Three points were chiefly found fault with, the undue length of certain liturgic melodies, the adaptation of the text, and numerous details of modal and other kinds.

The melodies which to 16th century critics of Plain Chant seemed too long, belonged to solo-singing. When the Liturgy prescribes solo and choral singing, the technical difference can only lie in the greater or lesser artistic elaboration of the text. Solo-melodies, which in this respect are treated exactly as choral melodies, are, artistically speaking, false. If

the Church had generally suppressed the old custom of entrusting certain parts of the Liturgy to solo-singers, these abbreviations would have been justified, both liturgically and musically. Critics of melismata measured melismatic Gregorian art, which is essentially monophonous, by the standard of polyphonic music, and wished to deprive it of its most effective and at the same time most ancient mode of expression.

The objection to the text-treatment turned chiefly on instances of disregard of quantity, 'barbarisms' as they were called. Plain Chant did not, however, adopt the classic conception of quantity, but rather the medieval qualitative one, which lays less stress upon shortness or length of syllables. Church Latin is not classical Latin, and yet has as much justification historically and, above all, liturgically, as the latter. The period in which Latin was yet a living language, namely, throughout the Middle Ages, accepted this view, as is shown by all the chant-books of the time, unhesitatingly and without exception. As long as Church Latin maintains its footing in the Liturgy, the medieval text-treatment in Plain Chant deserves no censure. Whatever other fault was found with the traditional conceptions of Church music, rested chiefly on a short-sighted application of rules which were valid only for polyphonic music. A reform of Plain Chant, on

the principles of an art essentially different, could only result in a totally arbitrary product.

The attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities towards this desire for innovation was characterized by a remarkable adherence to tradition. At the Council of Trent there was manifested among the prelates a desire to see banished permanently from the Church all but Gregorian music, so little evidence was there of any impending change or of dissatisfaction with tradition.

Thoughts of reform, however, soon penetrated to the Papal court. The authorities yielded, slowly and reluctantly indeed, to the urgent demands of the reformers. A reform set on foot by Palestrina and Zoilo did not succeed, because it was too remote from tradition. A positive result was reached at length in the '*Graduale Medicaeum*' of 1614—1615, the work of Suriano and Anerio. That they made use of the papers left behind by Palestrina cannot be proved. The Gradual appeared as merely the private enterprise of the publisher Raimondi.

The Medicean Gradual itself had no further influence: ideas of reform nevertheless soon became common property on the general acceptance of the Humanistic conception of Latin, and the 17th, 18th, and even 19th centuries were full of all kinds of attempts at reform. Common to all is an opposition to the characteristic peculiarities of the medieval

Chant. Innovations were not, however, always consistently carried out; indeed even in the same book instances of inconsistency and arbitrariness are met with which could only be accounted for by general superficiality and ignorance of the nature of the Chant and its laws. The ease with which the new books could be printed and circulated, increased the evil. There was no longer any thought of unity or even of uniformity of liturgic music in different countries or even in different dioceses.

Other unfavourable circumstances supervened. In Italy the triumphal progress of secular, instrumental and operatic, music destroyed the last hold which Plain Chant may still have had on the minds of artists and lovers of music. In Germany, the Thirty Years War interrupted the regular observance of the Liturgy and liturgic music. Several pieces began to be omitted or were supplanted by German hymns, a tendency which, in the Rationalistic epoch, found upholders even among dignitaries of the Church. In France the fate of liturgic music was bound up with the liturgic innovations introduced by Gallicanism and Jansenism. In Cathedral, Parish, and Conventual churches "up-to-date" books ousted the old chant-books which were still faithful to tradition. Nor was there any dearth of original compositions in the sentimental, empty style of the period. Still Plain Chant was at least sung in France, whilst up to the

first half of the 19th century it was completely supplanted in many German districts by hymns in the vernacular. Where it was still cultivated, its rendering became inartistic. The only gleam of light in this era is the fact that the ecclesiastical authorities constantly insisted that the Plain Chant was the true liturgic musical form.



Restoration of Gregorian Chant.

The degeneration of the Chant began to be recognized about the middle of the 19th century. All serious-minded people felt convinced that an improvement was possible only through a return to the traditions of the past. This demanded, however, a previous scientific study of the history of Plain Chant, and thus the Restoration was inaugurated by the revival of interest in this branch of history, to which French as well as German scholars devoted themselves with much zeal. The movement was carried on most eagerly and successfully in France, for there it had its roots in the firm soil of an unbroken practice and found a strong support in the efforts made to restore the Roman Liturgy, which had been abandoned in the 17th and 18th centuries; indeed, it even developed organically from the liturgic restoration. If, therefore, conditions were anywhere favour-

able to a reform, it was in France. The French liturgic restorer, Dom Guéranger of Solesmes, was also the most active worker for the Gregorian restoration. Many had already worked in this promising field; the surprising result of their investigations was the discovery of the admirably uniform tradition of the Gregorian Chant up to the 17th century. D. Guéranger made the investigation of the ancient art one of the life-tasks of his disciples, and thus their organization gained stability and, with that, the guarantee of success.

In Germany the movement took another turn. The Roman Congregation of Rites specially granted, on October 1st, 1868, a thirty-years copy-right to the new reprint of the '*Graduale Medicaeum*' of 1614—1615, and numerous decrees emphasized the official character of the new edition and warmly recommended its reception.

When in 1880 Dom Joseph Pothier of Solesmes published his classical work on the Gregorian Melodies according to tradition, and in 1883 the first edition of traditional Chant, his *Liber Gradualis*, a work of patient research, the right path of scientific discussion was entered upon. The Congress of Arezzo, summoned in 1882 by the representatives of Plain Chant investigation, achieved exactly the opposite of what had been its aim, for the Congregation of Rites issued a new decree in favour of the

book published under its authority. The indefatigable monks of Solesmes published in 1889 the "*Paléographie musicale*", which still appears in quarterly issues, a scientific publication on a large scale, which skilfully incorporates technically perfect reproductions from Plain Chant manuscripts, with treatises bearing on Plain Chant science.

In Germany several enthusiasts devoted themselves to preparatory work, while the well organized Cecilian Society developed a beneficent activity on the basis of existing ecclesiastical enactments. When the thirty years' copyright for the Medicean Gradual had expired, the Holy See repealed its previous decisions and reverted to the traditional Chant. Leo XIII. had already opened the door to the old melodies, especially in his brief "*Nos quidem*", of May 17th 1901, addressed to the Abbot of Solesmes. His successor, Pius X., already in his Cardinalate a zealous advocate of the old melodies, took at length the final decisive step and in his "*Motu Proprio*" on Church Music of November 22nd, 1903, followed by the ordinance of the Congregation of Rites of January 8th, 1904, he decreed the restoration through the entire Church of traditional Plain Chant singing. At the celebrations which took place in the eternal city in March and April 1904, on the occasion of the 13th century of Gregory the Great, the traditional Chant made

its official entry into St. Peter's in the presence of the Pope, the College of Cardinals, and numerous prelates from all parts of the world; a choir, consisting of *alumni* of all the theological institutions in Rome, took part in the solemn rites of the Papal Mass on April 11, thus symbolizing the acceptance of Gregorian music throughout the whole Catholic world. The Roman Plain Chant congress which took place at the same time, brought together the most eminent authorities from every country and returned respectful thanks on behalf of science to the Pope as the great custodian of the liturgic and artistic treasures of the Church. Shortly after, Pius X determined upon the issue from the Vatican of a traditional Chant publication and entrusted the task to an international commission, with D. Pothier as President. The first fruit of its labours is seen in the '*Ordnarium Missæ*', which was adopted (August 14, 1905) by the Congregation of Rites and declared to be the official papal edition.

A well-attended Plain Chant congress took place in Strassburg (August 16—19, 1905). The unanimity with which its members rallied joyfully round the banner of Pius X, augurs well for the future.



The German Hymn.

The Hymn before the Reformation.

Nothing brings before us more strikingly the great thought of the universality of the Catholic Church than the unity of its Liturgy and the unity of the language within that Liturgy. It can, however, by no means be regarded as a sign of liturgic decay, if, in the course of time, especially with Germanic peoples—for the Romance nations were familiar with Latin—there was a growing tendency to sing hymns in the vernacular on occasions outside the scope of the Liturgy.

The origin of these hymns, which were gradually introduced, may probably be sought for in the well-known exclamation *‘Kyrie eleison’* uttered in the Liturgy, of which the people made use whenever they spontaneously gave expression to religious feeling: before and after the sermon, in processions, pilgrimages, even before battle. When, in the year 819, the

relics of St. Boniface were removed from Mainz to Fulda, the *Kyrie eleison* sounded from the lips of the faithful, and on the solemn episcopal entry of Dethmar into Prague the priests struck up the *Te Deum laudamus*, whilst the Duke and his followers sang: "*Christe Kinâdo! Kyrie eleison! unde die Heilige alle helfant uns! Kyrie eleison!*" and at the battle of Saucourt (August 3, 881) the young Louis III, King of the West Franks, at the sight of the hostile Normans, lifted up his voice in an inspiring chant, in which the whole army joined, crying out "*Kyrie eleison!*" One cannot, indeed, be surprised, if, through such frequent use, the tumultuous joy over these words, graven as it were in brass, sometimes impaired the beauty of the musical form, so that the following direction in the Statutes of Strassburg (799) became necessary: "That the people shall learn to sing '*Kyrie eleison*' properly, and not in the clumsy fashion hitherto in vogue." The first phase in the process of development of the German hymn was initiated by the attempt, in the second half of the 9th century, to intersperse, among the jubilations of the '*Kyrie eleison*,' German texts similar in character to those used by Notker in his Sequences. From the "*Kyrieleis*" occurring at the end and continually repeated, these hymns received the name of "*Leisen*". A "*Kyrieleis*" to St. Peter still extant, is well-known:

STUDIO ADDICTUS
HOLY CROSS PROVINCE

Unsar trohtin hat far-	The Lord has given over
salt	Supreme power to St.
sancte petre giuualt	Peter,
Daz er mac ginerjan	That he may save from
ze imo dingenten man.	perdition
Kyrie eleyson, christe	The man who puts his
eleyson.	trust in him.
	Kyrie eleison, Christe
	eleyson.

The neumed air of the hymn has likewise been handed down. The music of another very old 'Kyrieleis' has been discovered by the indefatigable investigator, Dr. Wilhelm Bäumker, namely, the Christmas hymn: "*Nun siet uns willekomen, Herr kerst, Die ihr unser aller herr siet*". (Welcome, Lord Christ, the lord of all.) The beginning of the melody is found in a gospel-book of the Emperor Otto III (980-1002).

To these original creations were added translations of liturgic texts, especially of hymns. It is significant, from the point of literary history, that sacred lyrics and their adaptations strongly influenced also the secular poetry of the time; for example, Otfried of Weissenburg's rhymed "*Evangelienbuch*", completed about 868,—some of the verses are furnished with neums—shows almost the same structure of strophe as the oldest sacred hymn-form.

The number of songs increased. About the year 1148, Gerhoh, Provost of Reichersberg, wrote:—"The whole world sings the praises

of the Saviour, even in the vernacular. This is most the case among the Germans, whose speech is more suitable for well-sounding songs." (Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, vol. I., p. 220.) From this period dates the mighty song "*Christ, der du geboren bist*", sung by the Archbishop of Mainz, in 1167, at the beginning of the battle of Tusculum; a century later, at the bloody battle of Marchfeld, in 1278, there issued from the lips of Bishop Henry of Basle the prayer in which the whole army joined: "*Sant Mari, mouter unde mait, All unsriu not si dir gekleit!*" (Holy Mary, mother and maid, harken to us in our need!). But it was not the spirit of war alone that produced great songs, tender strains of peace, too, came from God-loving hearts on various ecclesiastical feasts: the "*Ein Kindelein so lobelich*" glorified Christmas; at Easter, the joyful strain resounded "*Christ ist erstanden von der Martern alle*"; at Pentecost: "*Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist.*" The sermon-hymns, too, "*Komm Heiliger Geist, Herre Got*", "*Christ fuor gen Himmel*", and "*In Gottes Namen fahren wir*" were in every mouth.

The 13th century gave fresh life to the German hymn. Under the influence of the recent "*Minnelied*", which not only offered homage to earthly love, but to spiritual likewise, the treasury of ecclesiastical songs increased, especially songs to the Virgin. The greatest poet of all,

Walter von der Vogelweide, not only sounded in Mary's praise the tenderest chords in his lyre, but also composed his great „*Kreuzlieder*“ („*Viel sunge ware Minne*“, and „*Nu alrest leb ich mir werde*“), while his followers, Konrad von Würzburg, Heinrich Frauenlob, Gottfried von Strassburg, honoured their Master by their glorious song.

Into the midst of this vernal music swept the fierce autumnal gale of the 14th century. Every joyful impulse was stifled by the tumult reigning in Church and State; the Black Death brought ruin and panic in its train. The Flagellants now made their appearance upon the scene. With red crosses on their hats, scourges in their hands, they went through the land in the hope of being able to avert the evil through expiation and prayer. Grim and terrible were their songs: „*Nun tretent herzu, die büssen wollen, fliehen wir die heissen Höllen*“, „*Sünder, womit wilt du mir lohnen?*“ etc. (Cf. Paul Runge: „*Die Lieder und Melodien der Geissler des Jahres 1349.*“)

The moving melodies of the Mystics followed upon these, like murmurs of peace from another sphere. Among these writers the greatest is the Dominican monk Johannes Tauler, with his wonderful „*Uns komt ein Schif gefaren*“; Heinrich Suso, Nikolaus von Basel, Nikolaus von Strassburg, and Rulmann Merswin were also distinguished.

Just as the introduction of new ecclesiastical feasts, such as the Trinity and Corpus Christi, supplied the hymn with new material, so, too, the translation of Latin liturgic songs enriched it with many jewels. The monk of Salzburg sang his hymns: „*Kum sanfter Trost, Heiliger Geist (Veni sancte Spiritus), „Lob o Sion, deinen Hailer” (Lauda Sion salvatorem), „Lobt all zungen des ernreichen” (Pange lingua gloriosi)*; Heinrich von Laufenberg followed him: „*Vern von der sunne vfegang” (A solis ortus cardine), „Ein Kind ist g’born ze Bethlehem” (Puer natus in Bethlehem)* etc. A unique kind of poetry is furnished by the glossary-songs, in which the thought expressed in Latin is repeated and made clear in German, as, for example, the following:—

*“Ave maris stella, bis grüesst ein stern in
meer,
Tu verbi Dei cella, Du Gottesmuoter her.”*

The so-called “Mixed poetry”, with alternate Latin and German lines was even more popular. We quote as an example the most delightful of these songs:—

*“In dulci júbilo,
Nu singet und sit froh!
Unsres Herzens Wonne
Leit in præsepio
Und leuchtet als die Sonne
Matris in gremio
Alpha es et O.”*

The well-known names of Hans Muscatblüt, Sebastian Brant, Oswald von Wolkenstein should also be mentioned as poets of this period. Particular merit is due to Heinrich von Laufenberg, as the originator of the so-called "*Contrafacta*". The secular song of that time was often spoiled by offensive words, the melody being frequently remarkable for its beauty and charm. In order therefore, to adapt the air for ecclesiastical purposes, Heinrich supplied sacred words instead of the original frivolous text, and set them to the original air. A number of magnificent songs was thus acquired for the Church. An innocent example, from the end of the 14th century, may serve to illustrate this:—

*"Inspruck, ich muss dich lassen
ich fahr dahin mein strassen
in fremde Land dahin."*

Contrafactum :

*"O Welt, ich muss dich lassen,
ich fahr dahin mein strassen
ins Ewig Vaterland."*

(Innsbruck, I must leave thee,
I go my ways
To a foreign land.

Contrafactum :

O World, I must leave thee
I go my ways
To my eternal home.)

A new factor in the spread of the German hymns was the invention of printing and, later on, the printing of music with metal-types. If the poet had hitherto to trammel himself greatly in the length of his songs, in order not to burden the singer's memory with too many strophes, he could now give free scope to his genius. At first these songs appeared on separate sheets, then as a supplement in *Plenaries* and *Agenda*, in secular song-books and collections. It is true, many less valuable compositions appeared among them, but in general their quality is well-proportioned to their quantity. The texts have been collected by two great investigators, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, in his '*Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes bis auf Luthers Zeit*', and Philipp Wackernagel, in his work '*Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts.*' Wackernagel has in his volume not less than 1448 hymns which belong to the Pre-Reformation epoch. It is, therefore, extraordinary to find still among serious Protestant inquirers the statement that the German hymn did not exist, properly speaking, before Luther, or that Luther was the Father of the German hymn. Even Wilhelm Langhaus, otherwise so one-sided and, where Catholic affairs are in question, one who grossly violates the objective spirit, says in his '*Geschichte der Musik*' (vol. I., p. 54): "Nor can one any longer regard the introduction of con-

gregational singing in German as his (Luther's) work, since it has been shown that it was already customary in the 15th century." Indeed, Luther himself spares the trouble of refuting these statements, for he says (*Geistliche Lieder*, Wittenberg, 1535): "Here follow some sacred songs composed in former times. These we have collected . . . to serve as a testimony to the pious Christians who have gone before us", and in one of his sermons he says: — "The Papacy had fine songs, such as "*Der die Hölle zerbrach*", also "*Christ ist erstanden*." That was surely sung from the heart! At Christmas was sung: "*Ein Kindelein so lobelich*." " And Melancthon remarks in his Apologia of the Augsburg Confession (24th Art.): "This custom has everywhere been admirably kept up in the Church. For though, in some places more, in others less, German hymns were sung, in all churches something was always sung in German by the people. Therefore it is not new."

After having established in our brief account the existence of Pre-Reformation Catholic hymns, we shall proceed to do justice to Luther's work in this direction. We shall, then, consider the personality of Luther, not from the ecclesiastical, but solely from the musical standpoint, as a factor in the history of musical development in the 16th century.

The Hymn during the Reformation.

The Reformation brought about, not only in ecclesiastical matters, but also in musical, especially with regard to the position of the German hymn, a complete revolution, which naturally arose out of the new teaching.

We have seen that the liturgic music in the Catholic Church from Apostolic times was the Latin, particularly Gregorian, Chant; that form was adhered to by the Church with rigid consistency. A large number of decrees of the Roman authorities as well as of Provincial and Diocesan synods dealt exhaustively with this subject and specially condemned the singing of hymns in German at High Mass, assigning to the German hymn its proper place outside the Liturgy, as, for instance, in evening-services, processions, pilgrimages &c. In this connexion mention may be made of the Council of Basle (1453), the Synod of Schwerin (1492), of Cologne (1536), &c. To discuss the reasons for these decrees lies outside the scope of the present work, but perhaps these ecclesiastical edicts were the source whence many Protestant investigators, too little acquainted with Church Liturgy, deduced the total absence or, at least, the pitiable plight of the German hymn within the Catholic Church. Not even the fact that, in many districts, these ecclesiastical enactments were not observed, that even bishops

tolerated with excessive indulgence the German hymn during the liturgic service, could persuade them of the contrary.

The extra-liturgic position of the German hymn experienced with Luther a complete change. Henceforth, it became the liturgic symbol of the new religion. The reason for this is not far to seek. The central point of ecclesiastical life, namely the Mass, had been removed from the Protestant service by Luther. If, therefore, he did not wish to let it wither away to empty form, he had to give the disciples of the new faith some equivalent, which would serve as a bond between altar and people, by letting the people actively participate in the new Liturgy. The only means to this end was the German hymn. The choir upon which had hitherto devolved the duty of supplying liturgic music, and which represented the faithful, was eliminated by the Reformation, and its place filled by the whole congregation, by means of congregational singing. It has been maintained, it is true, that Luther and his friends had at first not thought of congregational, but only of choir-singing, and that it was the congregation itself which had taken possession of these hymns, but it is forgotten that the Wittenberg choral hymn-book of 1524, which is mentioned in proof of this statement, was only one of the three different kinds of evangelical hymn-books which appeared simultaneously in 1524.

One thing, at any rate, is certain, namely, that Luther did not immediately get rid of Latin music—he was far too wise for that—but retained it for quite a long time, “for the sake of the pupils”; besides, he could not at the beginning of his reforming activity devote his attention to the hymn, seeing that greater and more important tasks lay before him. When, in 1517, by the affixing of his thesis, he symbolized his separation from the old Church, and the call to freedom went forth in the land, a strenuous period of hardship began for Germany, during which every joyful strain was silenced. It was not until 1522, when Luther had completed his translation of the Bible, that he could set about reorganizing sacred music.

What, then, are Luther’s merits as poet and composer? Just as almost all inventions and achievements that had any bearing whatsoever on music, were attributed in the Middle Ages to Guido of Arezzo, so now with Luther, who, as poet and composer, was accredited with a great number of hymns. Scientific historical research has, however, properly put an end to this uncritical tradition. But soon critics passed from one extreme to the other. As so often happened in musical history, the spirit of negation now overreached itself, refusing all to Luther; the Stuttgart Special Superintendent, M. Bernard, for instance, admits Luther’s authorship only in two songs, and is of

opinion that, in view of Luther's enormous activity, it was impossible for him to find the necessary time for composing. That the reformer should have written none, or only two, of the many thousands of hymns which sprang up like mushrooms in his days, is highly improbable, considering his enthusiasm for sacred song and his reforming activity. But which, and how many, of the 36 hymns ascribed to him, are entirely his own, would be difficult to prove.

The same uncertainty prevails when we consider Luther as a musical composer. His musical talent is, indeed, undoubted. Evidence of it is found in his keen appreciation of music and his severe criticism of those who despise it: "I have always loved music . . . Music must be cultivated in the schools and a school-master must sing, otherwise I'll have nothing to say to him!"

In the "*Harmonia Cantionum ecclesiasticarum*", published by Calvisius, 137 tunes are attributed to Luther. Since the time of the famous 'Thomas-cantor', however, criticism became more and more severe, so that Koch (*Geschichte des Kirchenliedes und Kirchen-gesanges*) upholds Luther's authorship only for three melodies, and more recent Protestant musical historians claim only one, — "*Eine feste Burg*", on the authority of Sleidanus (1555). Yet even this authority is shaken. W. Bäumker (*Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 1880, No. 10) adduced proof that this air was con-

structed from motives found in the Gregorian Chant. The result of this critical research has been recognized on the Protestant side, for W. Nelle in his *'Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes'* (1904) writes:—"No air, not even *"Eine feste Burg"*, can with certainty be assigned to Luther. Sleidan's incidental remark, in his history of the Reformation, cannot, in view of the silence of all other sources, be accepted as conclusive proof." It is regrettable that this same Nelle, who here appears so objective and veracious, cannot, in other parts of his book, suppress his ill-will towards the "Romish" Church.

But, however that may be, Luther's significance in the history of the German hymn remains, in our opinion, the same, whether he himself composed hymns or not, for his merit is based on his fostering encouragement of sacred song, and this merit will always be conceded to him freely by Catholic investigators.

What were the sources whence Luther and his friends drew in their works for the music of the hymn? First stands the rich musical treasury of the Catholic Church and especially the old hymn-melodies with their severe simplicity and strong piety. Many of these were subjected to change and elaboration. The second source was the sacred and profane folk-song and the older German hymn, while the airs of the Bohemian and Moravian brotherhood and

the psalter of the French Reformed Church were not overlooked. To these melodies were added numerous original compositions, so that soon a musical treasury of several thousands came into existence.

The question of words was solved in the same manner as that of music. Latin hymns were translated into German, profane songs were turned into sacred, and original pieces were also turned out in enormous quantities. The wish of Luther, imparted to Spalatin as follows,—“We are looking everywhere for poets”, was destined to be fulfilled to a greater extent than he had thought. Names like Speratus, Grammann, Jonas, Eber, and their successors may be cited in evidence of this abundance.

The first new form in Protestant sacred music, then, was the “chorale”, as it is now generally called, as popular melody. But beside it there developed a second branch, the chorale in polyphonic form. Its prototype was the polyphonic song and the motet. Accordingly, we find the melody in the Tenor, with which the other voices sing in counterpoint, but sometimes also in one of the other voices, according to the example of the Netherland School. In this manner a more artistic form of the chorale was prepared and the “art of the chorale” ensued. The delicately-fitted part-writing, not the melody as hitherto, was now of primary importance, so that not the inventor of the air was

any longer the chief person, but the arranger, at least up to the time when both were united in the same person. An important step in this evolution took place, when, towards the end of the 16th century, the melody began to be placed in the highest part, and thus the jewel so long dimmed regained its brilliance. Indeed this was the first step which polyphony took in the direction of an approach to the harmonic style. The "*geystliche gesank Buchleyn*" (Wittenberg, 1524) was the first chorale-book which appeared and was the result of the united efforts of Luther and his musical collaborators, Johann Walter, the chapel-master of Torgau, and Konrad von Ruppich, chapel-master of the Saxon Electorate, whom he had summoned to Wittenberg in order to regulate the musical part of the divine service. Thirty-eight German and five Latin hymns were included therein, introduced by a prologue from Luther's pen; the number increased in the later editions, the last containing 78 German and 47 Latin pieces. The Reformer tried to bring about a proper rendering of this polyphonic music by founding new precentorships, which subsequently formed an important element in the development of Protestant sacred music. The most famous of these was that of the church of St. Thomas in Leipzig, where men like Rhaw, Calvisius, Kuhnau, and Johann Sebastian Bach enjoyed brilliant careers. Of the other Protestant composers who won distinction in the new

branch, the following are worth mention: — Lukas Osiander, Bartholomäus Gesius, Melchior Vulpius, Leo Hassler, Joachim von Burgk (d. 1610) (*"Teutsche Lieder vom heil. Ehestande"*), and Johann Eccard, a pupil of Orlando, whose graceful compositions enjoyed great popularity and who won for himself an unforgotten name by his five-part hymns and his *"Preussische Festlieder"* for five to eight voices. At the end of the 16th century stands the great Michael Praetorius (1571—1621), equally distinguished as composer and writer; his *"Musæ Sionæ"*, and especially his *"Syntagma musicum"*, are highly valued as authorities even in our own day. Next come Schein, Schütz, and the intellectual giants Bach and Händel. But the chief interest of Protestant church music continued to rest in monophonic congregational singing, which consequently passes through a vigorous process of development.

The German hymn was a powerful instrument in the spread of the new doctrine, for it made it possible for the people to take part in divine service in the vernacular: to form, as it were, an integral part therein. This psychological moment must be duly appreciated, if we are to understand the saying of the Protestants that Luther's songs won over whole towns to Protestantism.

Catholic Hymns after the Reformation.

The rise of the Protestant hymn necessarily exercised in its turn a wholesome influence on the Catholic hymn. Perhaps a practical reason may have helped to bring this about. The Protestant hymn-books which now appeared in rapid succession fell into the hands of the Catholics, who, in that song-loving epoch, seized with enthusiasm on the German songs and thus unconsciously became imbued with the spirit of the new doctrine. This danger could be checked only by Catholic anthologies, and accordingly, in 1537, the first Catholic collection appeared: "*Ein New Gesangbüchlin Geystlicher Lieder*", printed at Leipzig by N. Wolrab. The editor was the Dominican, Michael Vehe, Provost of the Collegiate church of Halle on the Saale. It contained 52 texts of songs and 47 airs. A great number of these were, indeed, old Catholic hymns, but in the version adopted by the Protestants. The new texts came from the pen of the Burgomaster of Halle, Kasper Querhammer, of Wicelius, councillor of the Abbey of Fulda, with one by Sebastian Brant. As musical composers of the original melodies, in addition to the above-mentioned K. Querhammer, two organists, Johann Hoffmann and Wolfgang Heintz, achieved distinction. The second Catholic hymn-book bore the title: "*Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*" and was edited by the

"Thumdechant" (Dean of the Chapter) of Bauzen, Johann Leisentrit, and printed by Hans Wolrab, 1567. Among his 147 airs and 250 texts there were 66 hymns of Protestant poets, four of them by Luther, a proof of how easily and readily the Protestant hymn had procured entry into the Catholic Church. Of interest are the remarks on the title-page of the second and third editions (1573 and 1584) "*Also for the Office of the Holy Mass*", and the further observation—the first important contribution to the history of musical pedagogics in primary schools—namely: "Such songs shall be taught by schoolmasters to their pupils and then sung in the church, that the people may understand them and join in singing them." A short selection of these, published by the order of the Bishop of Bamberg, formed the first diocesan hymn-book. Among the other hymn-books that now followed in great numbers, the work brought out in 1625 by Gregorius Corner, Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Göttweih in Austria, was probably the most extensive and one which furnished an inexhaustible supply of material for all later works. As, at the time, the principle "*cuius regio, illius religio*", held good, the author's aim was especially directed "to prevent those already accustomed to the seductions of song from conceiving a dislike to the old Faith."

About the middle of the 17th century, the Jesuit, Friedrich von Spee, sang wonderful songs

in his "*Trutznachtigall*" and "*Güldenes Tugendbuch*", and Angelus Silesius, in his "*Heilige Seelenlust*", took his place worthily by his side. The intellectual current then passing through German Literature, exercised its influence also upon the hymn, and thus we see more and more, even in hymns, the subjective element outweighing the under-lying motive of general edification. The same happened with the music. The structure based on the old Plain Chant modes, yielded to a lighter and weaker movement, a striving after tunes which "sounded fresh and somewhat worldly". Here is the forerunner of the decay of the German hymn, which set in during the 18th century and lasted till the first half of the 19th. External and internal causes contributed thereto.

Rationalistic deism, which originated in England, penetrated thence into France, and soon made its way into Germany, corrupt philosophic systems came and went, Febronianism and Josephinism boldly lifted up their heads and sapped the very foundations of the nation. To all this was added as an external force the rapid growth of secular music which soon carried the worldly spirit into the sacred precincts of the Church and caused the complete degeneration of ecclesiastical monophony. Was it any wonder, then, that, with the earnestness and depth of religious life, also the solemnity and devotion of Church music disappeared? Courage

and strength of faith were the fruitful soil out of which the German hymn had blossomed, lack of faith blighted it and cast it forth from the sacred precincts to make way for sentimentality and triviality. The very titles of the numerous hymn-books, which appeared about the middle of the 18th century, indicate sufficiently their contents: "Songs which recommend practical Christianity, in which all Christians can join without being disturbed in their devotions by passages that do violence to their inner conviction" is the title of a hymn-book issued by B. M. von Werkmeister, Catholic Court-preacher of Stuttgart, for the use of the Chapel of the Duke of Württemberg, at the Gracious command of his Highness, 1784. Another hymn-book, by X. Lindenborn is entitled: "New Songs for Church and Home, dedicated to God and the Lamb" &c. One of its numerous duets, "*Jäger und Echo*" (Echo and the Hunter), may serve as an example of its contents:—

"In the coy forest
My horn resounds;
In sorrow and distress
I hunt the game
And remain the while
To thee, Diana, true.
Echo: Ruel!"

(The echo thereupon guides the hunter to the infant Jesus in the crib.)

If these insipid productions had been in-

tended only for the home or, at least, for extra-liturgic service, their injurious influence might not have extended so far, but the pernicious teaching of Josephinism, which strove to Germanize everything, introduced German song also into the liturgic service, into the High Mass itself. Even some bishops, as for instance, the Archbishop Karl Joseph of Mainz, issued the order that during High Mass only German Songs were to be sung. Although such strong opposition was raised in many quarters against these enactments by priests and people, who did not wish to sing in "Lutheran" fashion, that the "arm of the law" had to be invoked, in order, "by means of wholesale executions, to disabuse their minds", the evil had gone too far and could only be cured by degrees.

The end of the Wars of Liberation, which called forth real miracles of civic virtue, also exercised a beneficent influence on religious life; order was restored to the convulsed organism, and people were able to turn their attention to an artistic revival. The helpful influence of the Romantic School of Poetry on the development of sacred song must not be forgotten. Once Brentano had reopened the source of the old folksong in his collection: "*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*", the spiritual hymn could not be overlooked. A whole circle of poets was formed, including Eichendorff, Görres, Diepenbrock, Geissel, Michëlis, Berger (Gedeon von der Heide), Beda

Weber, P. Morel, the Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn, Lebrecht, Dreves &c.

The Bishops, too, paid attention to the question of the hymn and, in the course of time, a number of partly new, partly revised hymn-books appeared, the contents of which breathed once more the spirit of faith and piety. Kehrein, in his work on the German hymn, assigned to the first half of the 19th century no less than 147 editions. The excellent *Cantàte* of H. Bone and P. Mohr's "*Cecilia*" found wide circulation in our own times. A great part of the credit for the revival and sound organization of the German hymn belongs to the Cecilian Society, which included within the sphere of its activity this branch of sacred music also.



History of Polyphony.

The Beginnings of Polyphony.

Organum, Gimel, and Faux-Bourdon.

Monophonous Church music practically reigned supreme in the Church during the first thousand years. It was not till the end of the 9th century that attempts at polyphony appeared. Looking back on this epoch we find it puzzling to understand why such a lengthy period was needed to awaken the desire for the simultaneous sounding of different tones. Our astonishment increases, however, when we see how clumsy are these first attempts at polyphony, and what a mighty struggle was required before the perfected polyphonic art of the 16th and 17th centuries was attained. The earliest efforts at polyphony appear under the name *Diaphony* or *Organum*; as oldest form of this, the one explained by the monk Hucbald (d. ca. 930) in his "*Musica enchiriadis*", has hitherto been generally accepted. According to him the Organum consists in this that to a given leading voice is added a second in lower fourths; at the beginning

and end both voices could unite in unison. The main point is that the parallel movement was in fourths and not in fifths — as is stated in the definitions of Organum in almost all writers on music. The *Scholia* of the "*Musica enchiriadis*" first set up an Organum in fifths, and then by doubling the octaves, the Organum in many parts resulted from the two-part Organum. The preference given to the fourth as accompanying interval may have arisen from the fact that the theorists of the time still adhered to the Greek musical teaching of Boetius, in which the tetrachord plays a prominent rôle. In the 11th century, Guido of Arezzo devoted attention to the diaphony and, altering the theory in essential points, he distinguishes an *Organum* in the upper fifth (*supra vocem*) from an *Organum* in the lower fourth (*sub voce*), for the first time lets the "*Cantus firmus*" descend below the organal voice, and takes the *Organum* of the fourth as the principal subject of his instructions, casting aside that of the fifth as defective. A Milanese anonymous of the 12th century first introduced the octave along with the fourth and fifth as accompanying intervals and put the accompanying voice above the '*Canto firmo*'. All these attempts aim at improving what was unsatisfactory in the nature of the *Organum* in spite of the fact that Hucbald calls it a "delightful concord." The statement has indeed been put forward that Hucbald's

Organum was not carried out by singing-voices, but on the organ, or at least, that it was not simultaneous singing, but a kind of alternate, fugue-like music. All these attempts at interpretation, however, made to explain away a monstrosity hardly to be tolerated by our ears, must give way before the authority of such men as Remigius of Auxerre, Aurelianus Reomensis, Regino von Prüm, and the writings going under the name of Hucbald. [We disregard completely the disputed question as to whether or not Hucbald is the author of certain treatises questioned by Hans Müller (Hucbald's *echte und unechte Schriften über Musik*, 1884).] One might, then, believe that the above-described primitive art of the parallel *Organum* was the original, and that from it, following the ordinary process of development, there evolved the more perfect forms. But this is not the case; to Riemann's inquiring mind, thorough as it is indefatigable, is due the special credit of having discovered the original art of the *Organum*, by opening up the earliest sources, and of having subjected this branch of musical study to a thorough revision. (Cf. '*Geschichte der Musiktheorie vom 9.—19. Jahrhundert*', 1898 and '*Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*' vol. I., pt. II., 1905.)

The earliest source for the existence of the *Organum* is found in a treatise by Scotus Eri-gena (d. 880, at Oxford) entitled "*De divisione Naturæ*", in which the Irish philosopher gives

a brief, but well-informed description of the *Organum*: "The chant called *Organum* consists in voices different in quality and pitch, which sound sometimes divided from one another by wide intervals of well-proportioned relation, and sometimes approach each other according to certain wise artistic regulations following the differences of the ecclesiastical modes, and thus produce a natural and pleasing concord". This sounds essentially different from the theory of the Hucbald school; "in this manner there is no stiff parallel movement of voices in fifths and fourths, but rather alternate separation and reunion is the distinguishing characteristic of the *Organum*" (Riemann, '*Geschichte der Musiktheorie*', p. 22). Contrary movement offers, then, the chief motive for beginning and end, and the parallel movement only comes into consideration for the middle. In this sense the *Organum* is at once on a level with the later "*Discantus supra librum*" and *Faux-bourdon*. If we accept the above explanation of the process of evolution, two questions yet remain to be solved, namely: How are we to explain the great musical lapse evidenced in Hucbald's teaching and, on the other hand, the already well-developed state of the original *Organum* as it is found in the earliest sample which the "Plainsong Society" has published in photographic facsimile in 1890 from the Codex 572 (written in Oxford at the end of the 10th century) of the Bodleian Library at

Oxford, in "The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages?" If we consider the important circumstance that the Parallel-Organum of Hucbald, as the sources show, never reached general recognition and practice, then Riemann's assumption (which already occurs in Albert von Thimus' *"Harmonikale Symbolik"*, vol. I., p. 261) may be accepted, viz. "that this can be regarded as merely the final result of Hucbald's attempts to fit into a theoretic system the species of polyphonic music common to his time." And the comparatively rich development of the organal voice even in the earliest sources, lends colour to the supposition that "at least in part an assimilation of elements taken over from a decaying ancient (Celtic) civilization is in question." The existence of the more complicated kind of music before the simpler form recalls, moreover, a similar condition of things in the Gregorian Chant. Here too, the rich melismatic solo-chant was cultivated three centuries earlier than the simple choral-chant. The question has, in fact, been raised (Wagner, *History of Plain-Chant*, vol. I., p. 31), whether in general artistic Church music, more or less developed, is older than the simpler form. Besides, perhaps an older and simpler document than the Codex 572, may yet be found, especially now that Wooldrige (in "The Oxford History of Music" vol. I., p. 91) has placed the entry of the above example as late as the 12th century

In England we further find a form probably created before 1200, called *Gimel* (*Cantus gemellus*, or twin-song); the *canto firmo* is accompanied by a second voice in upper or lower thirds and sometimes also in sixths, while the beginning and end are in unison or in the octave. If we did not know from the sources that the Hucbald Organum did not find an entry into the British Isles, we should regard the *Gimel* as a further development and completion of the Organum by the introduction of the harmonious third instead of the harsh fourth or fifth. The *Gimel* is of importance on this account, because out of it the three-part *Faux-Bourdon* developed. To the upper third of the *canto firmo* a lower third was added, and thus the appearance of progressive triads was given. In reality, however, this lower third, noted as a lower voice, was sung an octave higher, so that it stood in the relation of a sixth to the leading voice. An improper, or "false", Bass thus resulted, hence the term "*Faux-Bourdon*" (Fa-burden, *Falso-bordone*) may have originated. Musically considered, the *Faux Bourdon* is, therefore, a succession of chords of the sixth and from the standpoint of melody a retrogression which can not be compensated for by the harmonic gain. From the historical point of view, however, its significance lies in the fact that it "introduces harmonic progressions into the middle course of the melody-members."

Our present-day *Falso Bordone*, which is principally used in psalm-singing, has nothing but the name in common with the above, and comes down from the time of classic polyphony. It is well to note, however, that recent investigators are seeking for other explanations of the first kind of *Faux Bourdon* and *Gimel*.

Discant.

If Hucbald's *Organum*, in its different forms, was but the product of a purely mechanical style of singing, with the *Discant* we stand on the threshold of real art. The distinguishing element that separates, like two different epochs, the *Organum* and the *Discant* is the principle of contrary movement which brings about a complete transformation and new birth.

Two kinds of discants are distinguished, the "simple" and the "figured" (*floridus, fleurettes*). In the simple the discanter began in unison with the "*canto firmo*" or "*Tenor*", as it was now called, (*tenere*, to hold); if the Tenor ascended, the discant descended, and vice versa, the conclusion being in unison. The figured discant was furnished with melismata and figures which were carried out over the Tenor. It is clear that this latter kind demanded special care in execution. It was easy in Hucbald's *Organum* and in the simple discant to accompany note by note in uniform rhythm

the leading voice which gave the melody. But here, if disorder was to be avoided, a definite time duration had to be fixed and maintained. Thus we see that the *discantus floridus* urges forward towards a new great development, and leads to *mensural music* and *mensural notation*.

Originally the discant was only in two parts, and the names for these two voices, *Tenor* and *Discant* (treble, soprano) are used even at present. Soon, however, the accompaniment of the Tenor was made in two or three parts and the names *Motetus*, *Triplum*, and *Quadruplum* were given to the other voices. Subsequently the lowest voice, as foundation of the whole, was called the *basis*, whence arose the term "Bass". A special kind of discant was the so-called *Ochetus* (Hocket); the melody was interrupted, and a sighing or sobbing was produced, a device which incidentally degenerated into the most absurd mannerisms, for example, the imitation of the cuckoo-call &c. As long as measure did not exist, the *Discantus floridus* may have developed numerous evil out-growths, especially at the time of its creation. So we can understand, why hostile critics, especially among the theorists, lifted up their voices against it. John Cotton, says, for example, "To whom could I better compare such a singer than to a drunken man, who certainly reaches his destination, but knows not

by what high-ways and by-ways". As the new mode of singing was not even deterred from stepping over the threshold of the Church and began to make itself at home there, too, the ecclesiastical authorities were obliged to proceed against it. In a decree of the year 1322, which has passed into the Statute-book of the Church, Pope John XXII expressly condemned the use of the discant in the Liturgy.

From these regrettable excrescences of the discant one must not conclude that its improvisation was without rules. In France, the cradle of the "*Déchant*", special "*Maîtrises*", like the "*Chapelle musicale du Roi*", arose, but these very schools were often the cause of a complete corruption of true art, "only intent upon astounding the listeners by the embellishments of certain tones." A number of rules gradually grew up out of practical exercise and the different combinations; these rules the teachers of the "*ars discantandi*" collected and set up as a standard; even entire treatises of contemporaneous scientific musical writers and theorists dealt with the subject. The following are the names of some; many among them also figure as composers: Perotinus ("*optimus discantor*"), Leoninus ("*optimus organista*"), Johannes Garlandia the Elder, Petrus de Cruce ("*optimus notator*"), Robertus de Sabillone, Franco of Paris, Franco of Köln, Walter Odington, 'Pseudo-Aristotle' &c.

With regard to the source of the new art-movement of the 14th century, which assumes to itself the proud name of '*ars nova*', critics are not agreed. Whilst England was hitherto regarded as the birth-place of counterpoint proper, Johannes Wolf in his fundamental work, "*Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250 bis 1460*", places it in France, Riemann in Italy, in art-loving Florence, Victor Lederer, in his work, "*Über Heimat und Ursprung der mehrstimmigen Tonkunst*", in Wales, the home of the Celtic bards. From Italy we have only a few Masses from the 14th century; with France it is otherwise, here we possess the oldest Mass, that of Tournay, (which Coussemaker edited as a 13th century Mass) and the Mass of Guillaume de Machaut. The treasury of motets is large. Of these the transition period (which is marked by such masters as Tapissier, Carmen, Cesaris, Vaillant, Grimace, Johannes Ciconia, Matheus de Perusio, Christoforus de Feltro, Antonius Romanus &c.) furnishes many examples.



The Netherland School.



The Musical Mission of the Netherlanders.

IF the first period of polyphony had principally striven, following the inspiration of the moment and a certain artistic dexterity, to improvise on a *canto firmo* a counterpoint (*cantus supra librum*), these unsystematic attempts disappear more and more during the 14th century, and a steadier movement, which is fixed in writing (*res facta*), replaces them. With the 15th century we enter upon the Netherland era.

The works of the Netherland composers embrace secular as well as sacred writings; *chansons*, Masses, motets, alternate in gay succession. The uniting link, however, is the *cantus firmus*, which imprints upon all the common stamp of an art having no specific differences. In sacred music it is, above all, the Mass with its separate parts, which is destined to become henceforth the special domain of the composer, evoking such glorious creations that the Preface of a Mass, published in 1539

by Grapheus in Nuremberg, could proudly declare "*qui missas veterum musicorum non norit, veram musicam ignorat*". The *cantus firmus*, or *Tenor*, which was made the basis of the Mass, and according to which the latter was usually named (e. g. '*Iste Confessor*'), was, at first, taken from the Gregorian Chant. Soon, however, the composer encroached also upon the secular songs; the names of these certainly looked strange enough in their new surroundings; titles like "*Adieu, mes amours*", "*Baisez-moi*", "*Fortuna desperata*", look anything but ecclesiastical. The best known and the most classical example of this is offered in the folk-song "*L'homme armé*", on the melody of which as *Tenor* almost all the Netherland masters have written a Mass,—Josquin, in fact, two. When the ecclesiastical authorities subsequently objected to these names, the composers were shrewd enough to conceal the source of their *cantus firmus* or freely invented the same; those Masses that bear the title "*Sine nomine*" originated thus. Here mention must also be made of other kinds of Masses worked out on certain fixed principles, such as *Missa primi, secundi toni*, *Missa ut re mi fa sol la*, *Missa cuiusvis toni*, *Missa ad fugam* &c.

What is to be said of the use of motives taken from secular songs in sacred composition? Clearly on this point grave injustice has been done to the Netherland masters. The *Tenor*

received in the "*res factæ*" of the new school quite another significance than in the '*cantus supra librum*' of the discanters. There the *Tenor* formed the foundation of the arches, now it became one of the arches which, united in harmonious structure, form the bridge. The richer development of contrapuntal forms promoted a greater independence in the voices, through which in turn a freer formation of the *cantus firmus* by lengthening or shortening the note values was necessitated. Hence it became almost impossible for the ear to perceive the *Tenor* by itself, as a complete melody. Consequently, the *Tenor*, though the base of the whole structure, was recognizable only to the eye, and in the complicated web of contrapuntal melodies, lost its character of secular song completely. If one further considers that at this period the style showed no special difference for sacred and profane compositions, just because the same methods were used for both, the reproach of frivolity cannot be sustained against the Netherlanders, on the contrary, it was not the sacred that was profaned, but the profane that was made sacred.

The motet takes up a considerable amount of attention besides the Mass. Its text is borrowed from psalms, antiphons, and other parts of the Scriptures. A Plain Chant motive or, more rarely, a secular song, forms the *Cantus firmus*. As the Netherlanders adopted a special

style, when they composed a *Missa de Requiem*, so they also did in the so-called funeral motets (or *Næniæ*) on the death of some prominent personage. Josquin wrote "*La déploration de Johann Okeghem*", while several other masters composed a musical monument for him. But these artists glorified not only death, but also life. Clemens non Papa celebrated the glory of the Austro-Spanish dynasty, the clemency and uprightness of Charles V &c. Dedications in the form of motets were not uncommon, even dry genealogical tables were set to music. Here we touch upon the weak point in the Netherland School, namely, the question of text.

In Greek music the text was the chief thing; from it came the melody, the song. The Renaissance epoch in Italy represented in its monody the same idea. It was otherwise, however, in the Netherland School. Here not the word, but the sound reigned supreme. The whole musical process of evolution, the manner of composition itself, was the result, one might almost say, of mathematical calculation, with the *Canto fermo* as inspiring motive; the music was the chief thing, the text being only of secondary importance. Everything is explained from this standpoint. Whilst composers held themselves bound to write out the less-known texts, this was no longer considered necessary in the case of the Mass; only the opening words of the different portions of the Mass were indicated,

and the fitting-in of the rest of the text was left to the singer. Now it must be admitted that the musical republic of that time bore quite a different character from that of to-day. Then the practising singers were, almost without exception, artists, most of them clerics and composers. Nevertheless, even for them, it must have been no easy task to fill in the text according to the intentions of the composer, especially when several voices sang together. The chapter on the "Arts of the Netherlanders" will show how barbarously the text was treated, how any text whatever was affixed to an already complete work, much to the detriment of the same.

Not less blameworthy were the so-called "*Farcituræ*", which were subsequently rejected by the Council of Trent. These consisted in the singing of different texts by different voice-parts, or in the addition of interpolations (*Tropes*) to the original text. Thus, for example, a passage of the *Gloria* from the Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary by Josquin runs as follows: "*Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, filius Patris, primogenitus Mariæ virginis matris, qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram ad Mariæ gloriam, quoniam tu solus sanctus Mariam sanctificans, tu solus Dominus, Mariam gubernans*" &c. Again, the *Kyrie* of the Virgin by Pierre de la Rue: "*Ave Kyrie Maria, gratia plena Dominus tecum eleyson.*" That with such blendings of

texts the danger of errors in dogma, even of heresies, was imminent, is, indeed, beyond all doubt.

The "Arts" of the Netherlanders.

Imitation and *canon* were the most usual forms in the art of the Netherlanders. The simple repetition and imitation of the chief phrase in the different voices was no longer considered sufficient by the composers, and readiness in the use of ever stricter and more difficult forms continued on the increase, until at last that giddy height was reached from which further ascent was no longer possible. Josquin de Près already reached this height. Before him certain beginnings had made their appearance in the first Netherland School, only, however, to disappear gradually.

The rule or law according to which the so-called *Fuga* or *Consequenza* was to be carried out, is called by the Netherland masters "Canon". (These terms are employed in a different sense in present day musical theory.) There was a rich variety of such canons.

The note-values of the Tenor were to be (according to the laws of augmentation) increased to double or threefold, or the Tenor was to be sung in changing measures, or the melody to be placed a third higher, or the rests to be left out. In the entry of the different voices the distance was shortened to a minim

(*Fuga ad minimam*), or the singers were allowed to begin at the same time, but in different measures and clefs, or the music-sheet was to be reversed, or the music to be sung backwards (Mirror canon or crab), or the intervals were altered so that, for example, all thirds, instead of being read upwards, were to be read downwards. But even these devices were not enough, for similar ingenuities were extended even to the heading indicating the manner in which the composition was to be performed, to the "canon" itself (*Canon ænigmaticus*, Riddle-canon), so that the executant did not even perceive the intention of the composer clearly. Referring to this the theorist Tinctoris defines canon as regulation which expresses the wish of the composer with a certain obscurity, and Aron thinks that, with regard to Josquin's canons, it was uncertain whether he had understood his own meaning, but that one thing was certain, namely, that he did not wish others to understand it. The worthy Martin Agricola menaces the composer even with the last day "when all will certainly not go well with the outrageous riddle-makers".

Various names were given to the Crab-canon: "*Cancriza*", "*canit more Hebræorum*", (because Hebrew is written from right to left), or the composer calls out to the tenor: "*Vade retro Satanas!*", or again this sense is conveyed by entire sentences, such as "*In gyrum*

imus nocte et consumimur igni" (with reference to the demons; read backwards the same words result) or "*Roma, caput mundi, si verteris omnia vincit*" (*Amor*). Even the toga of scholastic philosophy supplied the composers with mottoes: "*Accidens potest inesse et abesse præter subiecti corruptionem*", our present simple "*ad libitum*". The skipping of rests was enjoined by "*Clama, ne cesses*", inversion of intervals by "*Qui se exaltat, humiliabitur*", the omission of all minims by "*De minimis non curat prætor!*", the change of the black notes into white by "*Cæcus non judicat de colore*" &c. To enigmatic canons was further added the device of multi-form employment of mensural signs. The Emperor Maximilian was indeed right when he cried: "They read differently from what they write, sing differently from what they note down, speak differently from what is in their hearts".

How do aesthetics and Liturgy stand with regard to this artificial music? It cannot be denied that, in spite of the arts employed and the effort to out-Herod Herod, works of real artistic merit were still possible, but were not forthcoming in large numbers. As Ambros truly says "we have to seek the real work of art behind the strangest follies which press into the foreground, and even then we may not always find it". (*Geschichte der Musik*, vol. III, p. 82.) From the liturgic standpoint these affectations must

be rejected, because they are unworthy of the sanctuary and reduce the text, which is the chief thing, to a position of secondary importance.

Fortunately, however, among these excessively artificial products others are to be found which bear a true ecclesiastical and artistic stamp, and are the forerunners of a clarified and purified art which is to spring up from the soil of the Netherlands and blossom forth, far from the Low Countries, in sunny Italy.

The First Netherland School.

As it is extremely difficult for the musical historian to fix the boundary-lines of an evolving art, because it is subject to a constant development, so it is no easier task to evaluate justly the influence of the representatives of this art in each case.

Two Netherland Schools are usually distinguished: it was given to the first to do the pioneer work. The dexterity developed in the discant now received form on the basis of measure. Technical rules and Theory were established, and artistic counterpoint came into being. It is this period in which the English school of composers of the years 1416—1450 found its continuation in the Netherlands. *John Dunstable* (c. 1375—1453) is the connecting-link between the two countries. Part of his work is still preserved, as, for instance, 14 pieces in

the Trent Codices, which have become so famous. By Dunstable's side stand his two younger contemporaries, *Binchois* and *Dufay*.

Binchois Egidius, born about 1400, in Hainault, the cradle of so many famous Netherland masters, had, apparently, an eventful life. After having given up soldiering, he became a chorister at the court of Philip the Good of Burgundy and entered the priesthood. He died in 1460 at Lille. *William Dufay* (1400—1474) usually wrongly placed half a century too early, is a still greater Master. His dates are correctly fixed by F. X. Haberl in his monograph on the Master. Born in Chimay in Hainault, he went to the Cathedral school at Cambray and there made the acquaintance of Binchois. In 1428, under Martin V, he entered the Papal choir. Here he remained for nearly a decade of years, then betaking himself to the Burgundian court. During his stay in Savoy he won, before 1442, at the Sorbonne in Paris, the degree of *Magister in artibus*. Finally, in 1450, he received a canonry in Cambray, which he held up to the time of his death. His sacred and profane pieces, numbering over 150, show him to be a divinely endowed composer. With him, "the bright morning-star of the first Netherland School", art assumed a richer growth and development, leading up to its highest achievement in Palestrina. Other Masters worthy of mention are *Fagues* and *Eloy*. Better known is

Busnois, towards the end of his life Dean of the Chapter; his pieces rank among the very best of his time. Simple, plain writing, which possesses a natural euphony, is the characteristic of the works of this period. They show naught as yet of that exaggerated, self-imposed bondage, which so often lessens, when it does not altogether destroy, not merely the intrinsic merit of the work, but its tonal effect.

The Second Netherland School.

By beginning the second Netherland School with Okeghem, we accept the musical classification usually adopted. But in reality this master stands in such intimate relation with the foregoing composers, that it is impossible to consider them apart. One can at most regard him—with reference to his educational activity, which assembled around him a crowd of efficient scholars—as a factor that helped to open up new paths, so that the words of Kiesewetter hold good: "The general characteristics which are seen in the works of almost all the Netherlanders of this epoch, may be called the Okeghem style."

Joannes Okeghem was born probably in East Flanders about 1430. Louis XI appointed him treasurer at the Chapter of St. Martin of Tours, where he probably died in 1495. The fact that the honorary title of "Prince of music"

was given to him, testifies to his musical eminence. This honour was won for him certainly by his great skill in writing music, which did not shirk the most difficult musical problems, and was able at the same time to infuse into his compositions tenderness and feeling; his *Missa cuiusvis toni*, one of the few works extant, serves as an example of this.

An important contemporary of his was the successor of Jacques Barbireau in the office of chapel-master at the church of Notre-Dame, Antwerp, *Jacob Hobrecht* (Obrecht) (d. 1505 at Ferrara of the plague). He left behind him a great number of Masses, motets, and chansons, of which many are found in the Petrucci prints. The Proske Library at Ratisbon preserves in score three Passions by him. If famous pupils reflect a share of their glory on their teacher, Hobrecht must be ranked among the greatest, for no less a man than the famous Erasmus of Rotterdam sat at his feet.

Josquin de Près.

The art of the Netherlands had its most brilliant exponent in Josquin de Près. A native of Hainault, probably born at Condé in 1450, he became at an early age, as choir-boy at St. Quentin, master of the methods of composition then in vogue and laid the foundation of his future greatness. Okeghem took him into his school and extended to him always a faith-

ful and paternal friendship. Italy called him, too, southwards, as it did all the Netherlanders. Proud Florence first attached him to the brilliant court of Lorenzo the Magnificent, then he went to Ferrara, where he probably shared with Heinrich Isaac the hospitality of Hercules I, Duke of Este. Art and science flourished greatly at that epoch, and the greatest men fell under their spell. Perhaps Josquin may have here imbibed the fine humanistic culture which he undoubtedly possessed. His personal excellence as practical musician is testified to by his reception into the Papal Choir at Rome, under Innocent VIII, a post which he held for almost ten years. From Rome he travelled to France and entered the choir of Louis XII. But happiness and prosperity do not seem to have fallen to his lot here, at least the contents of many of his dedications would justify us in that conclusion. Whether the master subsequently belonged to the choir of Maximilian I is uncertain, we only know that he died on August 27, 1521, as Provost of the Cathedral at Condé.

Josquin was an extremely prolific composer. Besides a number of motets and secular songs he left behind him no less than 32 Masses, of which 19 were published, 17 of them in the Petrucci prints. In considering the work of Josquin we must remember, above all, that he is the child of his age, and that the faults of his time are present even in his greatest works.

As Okeghem had already mastered the art of composition in a high degree, there remained for his pupil Josquin no longer any technical difficulty. One of the first of his Masses, "*L'homme armé super voces musicales*", bears testimony to this; all imaginable difficulties, which are to be found in the "arts" of the Netherlanders are piled together here, certainly to the detriment of natural euphony. The height of this musical trifling is reached in his "*Missa di dadi*" (or dice-Mass) in which he solves in musical technique a dice problem. How unworthy of the House of God!

Mention must here be made also of those pieces of Josquin from which an exquisite humour flashes. His Lord and master, Louis XII of France, appears to have been stronger in making promises than in keeping them; thus he forgot about a certain prebend which he had promised to the artist. What does Josquin do? He dedicates a motet to the king, for which he chooses as text the words taken from the 118th psalm "*Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo, in quo mihi spem dedisti*", in order to remind the king of his promise. Tenor and Bass encroach upon each other "like two supplicants, one of which is anxious to outdo the other, so each will hardly let the other speak"; when, at the end of the second part, the *Gloria Patri* has been sung, the voices begin anew: "*Memor esto verbi tui*". Glarean goes on to say that

the wag sought to quicken the understanding of a somewhat dull king with a second motet "*Portio mea non est in terra viventium*". This effected his purpose; he received the prebend and thanked the king nobly in a new motet "*Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo*". Josquin further composed for the unmusical king, who was anxious to join in himself, a piece in which his Majesty had throughout to sustain the same note. It is true, indeed, that historical support is lacking to the last anecdotes.

The above-mentioned, almost wanton Masses of the Master contrast with others which express sublime solemnity and severe earnestness united with a sweet loveliness, not without "arts", but these not obtrusively evident. To this category belongs, for example, the Mass "*Da pacem*" with its magnificent "*Et incarnatus est*". Similar fervour and beauty imbue many of his motets, especially his chants to the Virgin. Whenever the fetters of the canon do not bind him, he moves with great freedom and sometimes strikes a note which quite surprises by the richness of the melody in a period before melody proper had come into being.

With regard to the number of voices, Josquin wrote mostly for four voices, but movements for five and six voices also occur. He overstepped this number only twice, namely, in a motet on the Passion for eight voices

(*Tulerunt Dominum meum*) and in a giant canon of six four-part choirs (*Qui habitat in adiutorio*). Ambros, who has characterized this composer in a specially detailed and life-like picture (op. cit. p. 235) thus sums up his influence: "Josquin was brought up in the traditions of the Okeghem School, and far from opposing these straightway as a reformer, he tried to give them the best and most intellectual form possible, or to raise them to the highest point of possibility." When, however, this master of musical history goes on to remark that this new style which the reformer Josquin developed "invested and imbued all details with new individuality, without becoming fantastic, subtle, or overladen, so that a sense of proportion and illuminating clearness endowed these regular musical forms with something particularly noble and distinguished", we can no longer support his enthusiastic judgment, but, with a recent musical writer, must give to Josquin with all due respect, the rank merely of a forerunner, of a technical pioneer, "who, indeed, was necessary in order to make Palestrina possible, but who himself did not discover the way to real heart-felt music." (Storck, '*Geschichte der Musik*' p. 220.)

Josquin's Contemporaries.

The style of Josquin is also that of his contemporaries and of the second Netherland

School, whose head he is. No new characteristics are here met with, but merely new names. One cannot, indeed, fail to recognize that an ever widening process of clarification is taking place in the method of composition, as we approach the twin-star of Orlando and Palestrina, though this quality is also apparent in many of the earlier composers. The "strong and serious" *Pierre de la Rue* (Petrus Platensis), as Glarean calls him, shares with many of his contemporaries an obscurity with regard to the dates of his birth and death. We only know that he was chapel-master (1492—1510) at the Burgundian Court and, in 1501, received a prebend at Courtrai. He stood in high honour with the then Queen-Regent, Margaret of Austria. It was she also who looked after the collection of his Masses, preserved for us to-day in splendid manuscripts in the Royal Libraries at Brussels and Vienna. The total number of his Masses amounts to 36. He wrote comparatively few motets and chansons, but these few reveal his bold architectonic power and his rich mentality.

Equal to him in rank is *Antonius Brumel*, who worked at the court of the Duke of Sora, Sigismund Cantelmus, and, from 1505 onwards, in Italy at the court of Alphonso I, Duke of Ferrara. He devoted himself less to the production of showy works of skill—the twelve-part Mass "*Et ecce terræ motus*" is, indeed, one of

these — than to clearness and distinctness in workmanship. *Alexander Agricola*, "the strangest and most bizarre", is a Master of a certain severity, but of great individuality among his contemporaries. Van der Straeten's latest investigations mark him as a German. Born in 1445, he remained till 1474 in the service of the ducal house of Milan; after a stay in Lower Italy he was summoned to Brussels as chaplain and chapel-master at the court of Philip the Fair, in whose suite he went to Spain, where, in 1505, death overtook him. That his works stood in high repute is shown by the fact that Petrucci printed 31 motets and songs by him, among them his finest: "*Je ne demande*". Van der Straeten again must get the credit of having discovered the right name of the composer known as '*Gasper*' to be *Kaspar van Werbecke*, from Audenarde in Flanders. His works breathe a spirit of piety and dignity, he unites fineness of sound with simplicity, but sometimes, especially in his two-part pieces, he becomes tedious and dry. His motets to the Virgin are his best achievement.

The "Romantic" composer among the Netherlanders is *Loyset Compère*, who died in 1518 as Canon and Chancellor of the Cathedral of St. Quentin. Of the few motets by him that have come down to us, 21 stand in Petrucci's "*Odhekaton*". The endeavour to avoid artificiality finds its rich guerdon in the feeling of rapt

awe which emanates from many of his compositions.

The other Masters of the Netherland School, like *Verbonnet*, *Prioris*, *Ghiselin*, *Japart*, *Lupus* &c., also contribute worthily to contemporary music. Among them the brilliant triple constellation, *Fevin*, *Genet*, and *Mouton*, deserve particular mention.

Antoine de Fevin is claimed alike by Netherlanders, Spanish, and French, the latter, however, seem to have most right to him. Born in 1473, probably at Orleans, he died at an early age; he is already given as dead in the Ambras manuscript, written in 1517. He has nevertheless written pieces "which have in them the fire of genius and the full maturity of a master-mind", at least Glarean says of one of his Masses: "I hardly know anything that sounds so graceful as the *Ave Maria* Mass". Of the many composers of clerical standing belonging to the Netherland School, none probably rose so high as *Eleazar Genet*, whom the renowned Maecenas of art, Pope Leo X, elevated from the position of chapel-master of the Papal Choir to the episcopal dignity. The finest compositions of this grave and not easily accessible Master, namely his lamentations, had to yield to those of Palestrina as early as half a century after his death in 1532. Leo X was likewise *Mouton's* patron and was perhaps

just as enthusiastic over the artist's fine humanistic culture as over his elegantly-wrought, expressive works. In him there passed away a richly-endowed, productive artist.

Josquin's Successors.

Perhaps Josquin's most remarkable pupil is *Gombert* of Bruges, chapel-master to Charles V at Madrid. His works are very numerous; indeed, "extreme productivity" then passed as a sign of the highest power". Nevertheless the quantity of his productions did not interfere with their quality, witness his famous motets. The wonderful motets to the Virgin—for instance "*Vita dulcedo*" — are among the finest tributes ever paid by a master to the Queen of Heaven. Highly artistic in its writing, but not less rich in sound, is the famous motet entitled: "*Diversi diverse orant*", in which the four voices sing together four different texts: '*Salve Regina*', '*Ave Regina*', '*Inviolata*', and '*Alma Redemptoris*'; certainly we have here again a proof of the contempt of the Netherlanders for the text. The psalms of the Master have become famous, as, too, his "*Pater noster*", which, according to the report of Fétis, created a powerful impression upon its production in Paris before a public entirely modern. But Gombert is equally successful in his gay as in his serious moods, in his chansons especially, which, however, never belie the noble traits that mark all his works.

Gombert's numerous contemporaries are surpassed in fame and productivity by the predecessor of the great Orlando, *Clemens non Papa*. By way of distinguishing him from Pope Clement VII this soubriquet was bestowed on him — his real Christian name was Jacob. Regarding his career, we only know that he was priest and chapel-master at the court of Charles V. His works reveal more. We obtain an idea of his creative power from his motets alone, of which there are 66 in a collection printed at Nuremberg, while 92 numbers for four to seven voices were issued by Phalèse at Louvain. The pensive lamentation: "*Vox in Rama audita est*", the motet "*O Maria vernans rosa*", and the six-part chant to St. Barbara: "*Ave Martyr gloriosa*", are particularly beautiful and already breathe Palestrina's spirit. His profane chansons and still more the "*Souter Liedekens*", texts from the psalms of David, composed for three voices on popular Netherland airs, e. g. psalm 2: "*Quare fremuerunt gentes*", on the folk-song "Roosken rot", are instinct with the same life.

Why is Clemens not better known? When the sun shines out, the lesser stars disappear! Orlando's glory was already shedding its mighty rays and dimming the brightness of Clemens, who perhaps in an earlier epoch might have filled a position analogous to that of Josquin. At any rate the existence of Clemens

serves to dispel once more the notion that the style of Palestrina had sprung up, as it were, over-night, and was not, rather, the natural outcome of a perfectly normal development.

Neighbouring France was also a fruitful mother, bringing forth quite a number of composers, who learned their art from the Netherlanders. But when these believed that they had outgrown their minority and ventured to step forth independently, the germs of weakness began to show themselves. In Spain we find in the Royal Chapel a Netherland colony, but in Rome her own sons achieved great renown. Portugal can claim but few masters, yet those few are accomplished artists.

Orlandus Lassus.

Orlandus Lassus (Orlando di Lasso) must be classed as the last great Netherlander, even though, in point of time, he stands outside the Netherland period, and his work was mainly done in Germany. Born at Mons in Hainault in 1532, he went, at an early age, as chorister to the church of St. Nicholas in that town, where he is said to have been no less than three times kidnapped on account of his beautiful voice. Subsequently the Viceroy of Sicily, Ferdinand of Gonzaga, took the twelve-year old boy with him to Sicily and thence to Milan. After prolonged journeys through Germany and France he went, in 1555, to Antwerp. In 1557

he was summoned by Duke Albert V of Bavaria to the court-chapel in Munich, which, comprising 85 artists, then stood at the head of European court-chapels. In 1562 Orlando attained the dignity of chapel-master here. Laden with honour by Pope and Emperor—Maximilian II raised him in 1570 to the nobility—he worked on till old age overtook him. Unhappily owing to illness and melancholy the evening of his life was gloomy. He died on June 14, 1594, four months after his great contemporary, Palestrina.

In Lassus passed away one of the most prolific composers, not only of the 16th century, but perhaps of all time. Over 2000 works came from his pen. Of these about two-thirds consist of sacred music, namely, about 1200 motets, 52 Masses, 100 Magnificats, psalms, lamentations &c. The secular compositions, forming the remaining third, consist of madrigals, Italian, French, and German songs, and chansons. Of his sacred pieces, the penitential psalms, which appeared in 1565, are considered the finest. The date disproves the legend which had sprung up about them, namely, that Orlando wrote them for Charles IX, as expiation for the terror of St. Bartholemew's Day, 1572. That Orlando's contemporaries were not chary in their praise is testified by words written in 1593 under his portrait: "*Hic est ille Lassus, lassum qui recreat orbem.*" Naive admiration

ascribed a power bordering on the marvellous to many of his motets, notably the motet, "*Gustate et videte*", which was said to possess the power of drawing forth the sun from the clouds! Yet, in spite of his fame, his name fell into oblivion in the second half of the 17th century. To recent musical research is due the credit of having made Orlando's work better known. To this end the large edition of his works, issued by Haberl (*Magnum opus musicum*) and Sandberger (secular compositions) and estimated at 60 volumes will contribute greatly. Proske's reliable criticism is worth quoting here: "Orlandus Lassus is a universal genius. None of his contemporaries possessed such clearness of purpose or exercised such sway in matters of art, ever seizing with sure hand what he needed for his musical creation. From sacred meditations to the liveliest variety of profane melodies, he never was at a loss for time, mood, or success. Great in the lyric and epic alike, he would have been greatest of all in the dramatic, if his era had possessed this branch of music. In his works are found traits of epico-dramatic truth and power, so that one feels oneself touched by the spirit of a Dante or a Michael Angelo. If Palestrina is put by the side of Raphael, then the comparison between Lassus and the great Florentine is justified. Great alike in the Church and in the world, Lassus so assimilated to himself what

was national in all European music that it became reflected in him as a characteristic whole, and one could no longer distinguish what was specially Italian, Netherland, German, or French. No one resembled so closely the great Handel, and, as in the latter the German, Italian, and English genius of the 18th century were found blent, so in Lassus the entire glory of contemporary Germanic and Latin art was commingled in a single mighty personality". (Musica divina, tom. I. p. LII.)



The Roman School.

Palestrina's Predecessors.

What Rome was in a religious sense from the first days of Christianity, it now became in the domain of art, that is to say, a meeting-place for the most notable minds, who stamped the impress of their spirit upon whole centuries.

Musical Italy must have probably often cast envious glances upon the little Netherlands, which had reigned undisputed for so long, while waiting the day when at last it should be given to it to assume leadership in its turn and let the Italian School supersede the Netherland. Of a Roman School in the proper sense of the term we cannot speak before Palestrina. We shall regard the musicians and composers who preceded Palestrina merely as his fore-runners, who prepared the way for his coming.

The Papal Choir at Rome represented the fixed pole amid fleeting phenomena. The old "*Schola cantorum*" remained in Rome when the Papal court went to Avignon, so that the founding of a new choir became necessary in their new abode. When at length, on the 17th of

January, 1377, after more than 70 years absence of the Popes from Rome, Gregory XI made his re-entry into the Eternal City, his choir followed him and subsequently rose to undreamt of importance. From every realm singers and composers flocked thither, forming, as it were, an international University. The Popes, on their side, endowed their art-institute with rich privileges. It was especially the brilliant Pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471—1484), during which a new epoch of art flourished for the *Sistine Chapel*, (so called after the *Capella Sistina* built by this Pope). The oldest monuments of polyphony that have come down to us originated in this glorious time. It is true, however, that the traditions of the venerable *Schola Cantorum* had completely lost their vitality in the different Chapels which were established independently in the principal churches of Rome during the 16th century. The spirit that reigned in them had changed. The art of the newly-created polyphony was responsible for this, as it sought to find for itself external expression. The chapel at St. Peter's, founded beside the Sistine by Pope Sixtus IV, on January 4, 1480, for twelve singers, was re-founded by Julius II, and henceforward bore the name of *Capella Julia*. "Both institutes continue side by side up to the present day, though the *Capella Pontificia* as such has since 1870 practically ceased to perform. Quite

recently, in March, 1906, it was reorganised by Pius X. Curious strangers believe that they are listening to the Sistine Choir, during the Holy Week services, for instance, when they are attending the musical services of the *Capella Julia*." (Cf. F. X. Haberl: "*Die römische Schola Cantorum* und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts", page 47.)

Up to the Pontificate of Paul IV (1513—34) only priests were received as singers; Paul was the first Pope who granted admission to laymen as well. Whilst previously, moreover, boys had sung the soprano, we find, from the middle of the 15th century, natural male sopranos, whose place was taken, at the beginning of the 17th century, by artificial male sopranos.

One of the Papal choristers, whom we encounter in 1517, *Costanzo Festa* (d. 1545), is the first Italian composer of note. He heads the band of composers leading up to Palestrina and gives promise of a brilliant future. Just at this time, however, a great number of foreigners, Spaniards especially, play a prominent rôle in the Papal Choir. Names like *Escobedo*, *Salinas*, *Guerrero*, and *Morales*, are held in good repute.

The French and Netherland Masters also hold their own. At their head stands *Jakob*

Arcadelt, who, after a long and creditable service in the Papal Choir, went, in 1555, to Paris and received there the honorary title of "*Regius Musicus*". He is remarkable as an ecclesiastical composer, but did still more excellent work in the domain of the madrigal; his "*Il bianco e dolce cigno*" attained great celebrity. *Goudimel*, another Master of note, has hitherto, as the result probably of a confusion with *Gaudio Mell*, been regarded as the teacher of Palestrina, and even as the founder of the Roman School. He does not belong, however, to this group, as he never went to Rome. He was one of the first victims of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in Lyons, August 27, 1572.

Palestrina's immediate predecessor, however, not only in the office of chapel-master at St. Peter's, but also in his musical work, is *Giovanni Animuccia*, with whose name is connected the founding of a new branch of art, the *Oratorio*, which was to flourish so luxuriantly in subsequent epochs. His "*Laudi spirituali*" written for Philip Neri's Oratory, founded in 1540, were indeed only simple, hymn-like pieces. After him we come to the greatest Master of the Roman School, whose name shines forth with incomparable splendour, and who, rising far above all other composers, brought musical art to its culminating point, — *Palestrina*.

Palestrina.

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (Joannes Petraloysius Prenestinus) receives his name from his native town, Palestrina, in the Roman Campagna. Here he was born, probably in 1526. His musical training he received in Rome from Gaudio Mell, but already in 1544 we find him as chapel-master in the Cathedral of his native place. Six years later he was summoned to the Eternal City where he encountered in manifold form both favour and disfavour. He filled a number of important posts. At first, he was appointed by Julius III as Choir-master of the boys of the Capella Julia; from that period dates also the publication of his first work, a volume of five Masses for four voices. The excellence of these compositions and perhaps the fact of their dedication to Julius III, brought about his reception into the Papal Choir, though his weak voice and the fact that he was married told greatly against him. Indeed, Julius III's second successor, Paul IV, held to the letter of the law and dismissed Palestrina from the Papal Choir. The meagrely-endowed post of Chapel-master at St. John Lateran could only offer a very poor compensation to the Master, then ill in mind and body. The "*Improperia*", written during this period, and to this day one of the glories of the Papal Choir, are probably the most faithful picture of his inner life. His

activity as chapel-master at S. Maria Maggiore, from 1561 to 1571, embraces the most important years of his life. Into this period also falls the treatment of the question of sacred music at the Council of Trent, with which Palestrina's name is intimately associated. It is true that legend has been woven round it, and Palestrina has been hailed as the "Saviour of Catholic Sacred Music", who, by his "*Missa Papæ Marcelli*", specially composed for this purpose, so stirred the Fathers of the Council that they withdrew the decree which completely excluded polyphony from the Church. The true state of affairs is, according to the thorough researches in the archives made by F. X. Haberl ("*Die Kardinal-Kommission von 1564 und Palestrina's Missa Papæ Marcelli*") as follows:

Complaints as to the irregularity that prevailed in Church music, caused by the unintelligibility of the text, the excessive lengthiness of the pieces, the unsuitable, arbitrary, and distracting mannerisms of the singers, had already cropped up before the first half of the 16th century. The words of the 22nd sitting of the Council of Trent (*Ab ecclesiis*), uttered in September in the form of a decree, seem to show that Roman legates and Fathers of the Council had submitted the necessary material. When under Pope Pius IV, in the execution of the decrees of the Council by the two Cardinals Vitellozzo Vitellozzi and Charles Borromeo, the

reform of the Papal choir was set on foot, the question of florid Church music must have again come up. Palestrina, perhaps also Animuccia, by bringing forward a six-part Mass, composed in Julius III's time, (before 1567 in the manuscript of Santa Maria Maggiore and the Sistine Chapel this is without title, only in 1567 it was called *Missa Papæ Marcelli* in grateful memory of the Cardinal Marcello Cervino, afterwards Pope Marcellus II) was able to adduce proof that it was not the art as such that was to blame for the incomprehensibility of the liturgic text, but rather the caprice of the composers. The Commission of Cardinals of 1564 was not entrusted with a general reform of Church music, the matter being rather put into the hands of the Provincial Synods and Bishops. In any case the *Missa Papæ Marcelli* was not written for the Commission, but dated from the time that Palestrina was chapel-master in St. Peter's.

Official sanction was lent, however, to Palestrina's style by the approval and acceptance of his compositions, and the *Missa Papæ Marcelli* was set down for all future ages as the finest and most renowned work of Palestrina. Proske edited it in the original six-part text, Francesco Anerio in a four-part, Suriano in an eight-part version, and recently Mitterer has again reduced it to four parts. An adaptation for twelve voices, probably by Stephano

Nasimbeni (cf. *Kirchenmusik. Jahrbuch*, 1908, p. 159), lies in the Vallicellian Library in Rome. That this Mass is a great creation, particularly characterized by its force and fulness,—take, for example, the *Amen* of the *Credo*—no critic can deny, but that Palestrina has left more beautiful Masses—for instance the six-part '*Assumpta est Maria*'—is a thought that persistently intrudes itself upon my mind, whenever I hear, sing, or conduct the *Missa Papæ Marcelli*.

The Master received in reward the title of Composer to the Papal Chapel; the Pope's desire to see him at the head of the Sistine Chapel was contrary to the spirit of the Chapel and to the wish of the members, who were anything but friendly to the composer. After Animuccia's death, Palestrina once more took up the position which he had already filled, of chapel-master at St. Peter's, a post which he occupied with unswerving zeal till his death. In addition to this, the main business of his life, he still continued to share with G. M. Nanino the direction of the School of music founded by the latter, conducted the '*Azioni sacre*' or Oratorios for St. Philip Neri, took up the position of concert-master to Prince Buoncompagni, was engaged on the commission of Gregory XIII in the revision of the Plain Chant-books, and undertook similar tasks connected with his office. One might imagine that with such an extensive activity but little time would remain for

composing; nevertheless Palestrina is, after Orlando, the most prolific of the Masters. Almost all his compositions, with the exception of a few books of madrigals and other secular works, are dedicated to the use of the Church for her different Feasts, being pure vocal music without instrumental or organ accompaniment. The monumental Complete Edition, now ready in 33 volumes, issued by Breitkopf und Härtel under the editorship of F. X. Haberl (from volume 10) gives an idea of the enormous output of Palestrina. It includes 93 Masses for four to eight voices, 139 motets, Lamentations, Offertories, Magnificats, Litanies, and Vespersalms. Haberl's supplement to the complete edition will reproduce the original biographical documents, bringing thus to a close an investigation into the sources extending over forty years, a '*monumentum ære perennius*' for the great Master of Præneste!

On February 2, 1594 Palestrina passed away, breathing his last in the arms of his friend and confessor, Philip Neri. He is buried at St. Peter's; in his epitaph, which is no longer extant, he was briefly but pregnantly named

JOANNES PETRUS ALOYSIUS PRÆNESTINUS
"MUSICÆ PRINCEPS."

In criticism of Palestrina let us once more quote Proske: "Though the 16th century, with its great boundary-stones, Josquin and Pale-

strina,—each the most eminent man of his age—is called the golden age of sacred music, and though of all the schools, the Roman, founded by Palestrina, has been the most admired, there is nevertheless, in the entire century, not a single writer to be found, among Italy's greatest personalities, or even among Europe's, whose genius was so initiated into the secrets of art and the mysteries of the Church as to fit him to rank beside the great Master."

Palestrina has been called a musical reformer. He was, yet in the most conservative sense of the word, that is to say, a reformer from within, and, as such, he never broke with the living organism of his art, but penetrated into its very depths, as did none of his contemporaries, ennobling and transfiguring it. He did not widen the horizon, but he opened up new, undreamt of approaches to the inner, ilimitable labyrinth of Harmony. Whilst almost all his contemporaries, even those artists who had issued from the Roman School, showed signs of the new spirit, his genius, the richest and most productive of all, was content with the sanctuary of tradition and is in this, too, the model of the greatest Masters in later periods, who were quite able to combine the full development of their own personality with the reverent acceptance of traditional art-forms. That Palestrina dedicated his life-long artistic work, so immeasurable in breadth and depth,

to the pure ecclesiastical style, constitutes the real greatness of his character.

Palestrina's Contemporaries.

An extremely fertile epoch succeeds Palestrina. His successor at Santa Maria Maggiore (1571—1575) was his pupil, *Giovanni Maria Nanino*, born at Tivoli about 1545. As founder and Director of the first Roman School of music, he devoted particular attention to Theory, indeed we may hail in him one of the greatest musical scholars of the Roman School. As a composer he was equally distinguished; his works, for pure classic style and finished form, "deserve to rank immediately after Palestrina." As examples of his excellent work may be mentioned his '*Hæc Dies*' for five voices, his '*Hodie nobis cælorum rex*' for six voices, and his Mass '*Vestiva i colli*' for five voices, and especially his simple melodious Lamentations for four-part male choir (Musical Supplement to the '*Kirchenmusikal. Jahrbuch*', 1891).

Maria's nephew and pupil, *Giovanni Bernardino Nanino* (1560—1624), who was active as teacher in the music school and later as chapel-master of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, already begins to break away from the traditions of the Roman School and to cast furtive glances

into the region of the new spirit; his striving after mass-effects — e. g. his remarkable *Salve Regina* for twelve voices in the Santini collection and, more notably, the organ accompaniment for different pieces — made him liable to this reproach.

What Orlando is for the Netherlanders, Palestrina for the Italians, that *Tommaso da Vittoria* is for the Spaniards. Born about 1540, at Avila,—he calls himself *Abulensis*—he came to Rome at an early age, but that he was directly taught by his countrymen, Escobedo and Morales, as Baini maintains, cannot be sustained, for Escobedo left Rome in 1554, and Morales as early as 1545. For twelve years Vittoria was active at the *Collegium Germanicum*, where he finally attained the position of chapel-master. In 1589 he returned home, where he died in 1613. The six-part Office for the Dead, composed in 1605, is considered his masterpiece. A complete edition of his works is being issued by his countryman, P. Pedrell. His "*Improperia*" have also attained great renown; they breathe the spirit of Palestrina—indeed he was called "*Cigno di Palestrina.*" Simple in style, but none the less effective, are the Lamentations and the Passions for Holy Week (Mus. suppl. Kirchenm. Jahrbuch, 1896 to 1898), though the latter do not approach at any time the dramatic glow of Suriano. It is to me a matter of surprise that Kretschmar

(Führer durch den Konzertsaal, II. 2.) among the motets intended to show most intimately the Master's methods, makes no mention of the magnificent "*O quam gloriosum est*", on which is also based the composer's similarly-named four-part Mass, both rare products, exquisite in harmony and structure. A comprehensive criticism of the Master will be found in the words of the expert Proske, who writes: "In this Master we find united the noblest qualities of Spanish and Roman art. Of all the adherents of the Roman School, with the exception of Palestrina, none has paid such attention to perfect purity in Church style as Vittoria, indeed it was his nature to grasp more thoroughly than Palestrina himself the liturgic, objective, and typical. Neither did he lack rich originality and subjectivity, so that, in spite of his moderate use of artistic devices, he always remains unique, easily distinguishable from all his contemporaries and readily recognized throughout all his compositions, be they never so different from one another. Without interfering in the least with the clearness of his melody or harmony, an earnest, sublime mysticism marks his chants, springing from his pure, innate piety, breathing reverent devotion, untainted by worldliness, and making him incapable of composing any but sacred music. Warmth and life, sweetness and tenderness, smoothest flow of the most intricate and strict compositions, a festive grandeur and

majestic dignity, all combined in this priestly Spaniard, form a constellation, which from out the starry firmament of the past sheds a wondrous radiance upon our own time."

Palestrina's Successors.

The Roman *Felice Anerio* calls himself a pupil of G. M. Nanino and claims the honour of being, after Palestrina, the sole bearer of the honorary title "Composer of the Papal Choir". Though Anerio had sung from 1575 to 1579 first as soprano and then as alto in the Papal Chapel, the College of singers did not receive his appointment, on April 3, 1594, with particular favour. As a matter of course, "malice and envy" were in those days the constant accompaniment of personal efficiency and merit. Indeed we get an interesting glimpse of contemporary history in the delicious words with which Palestrina's biographer (vol. II., p. 277) comments on the entry of the secretary of the Papal Chapel, Ippolito Gambocci, in his journal: "The College gnashed its teeth, swallowed the morsel, and made answer that what the prelate wished should be done. All the singers present signed the form submitted to them, and handed it to the prelate, Cavalcanti. After the ceremony Felice Anerio presented himself to the College of Singers, and returned thanks for the

honour conferred on him, with the assurance that he would write good and suitable compositions." And he did; though, unfortunately, most of his works, indeed the very greatest of them, remain unprinted. As composer Anerio pays special tribute to the new spirit, which, born in Florence, the central point of literary and artistic life, made its triumphant entry into the musical world under the name of Renaissance of Greek art.

To these modernizing artists belongs also Felice's namesake, *Giovanni Francesco Anerio*, likewise a Roman, a circumstance which he mentions with pride in nearly all his works. Following the tendency of the age, the artist, in 1609, repaired to the court of the Polish Duke Sigismund III, but returned after the lapse of a year to his native land and there held a temporary position as chapel-master in the Cathedral of Verona. In 1611 we find him again in Rome. Here, at the age of forty-nine, he celebrated, on August 7, 1616, at the Jesuit Church "al Gesù" his first Mass, the music of which the entire musical body at Rome, distributed into eight choirs, united in performing. In his works written in the old traditional style, as, for instance, the four-part *Missa Brevis*, published for the first time by Haberl (*Kirchen-musikalisches Jahrbuch* 1886), Francesco shows himself a practised contrapuntist. But as the representative of the monodic style also, he

never disregards noble musical form and ecclesiastical feeling, though in his rhythm he shows that restlessness, that disruptive tendency, that hurry and strife which his countryman, the theorist Boni, trenchantly characterizes as "sawing into little pieces".

The modern spirit, which triumphed in the secular monody, in course of time refused to allow itself to be checked at the church door and obtained entry into the church as monodic chant with *Lodovico Grossi da Viadana*, born in 1564 at Viadana near Mantua. His "*Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici*" furnish an example of this form, being songs for one to four voices with a "*basso continuo*" for the organ; the invention of the *basso continuo*, or '*generalis*', which in the future was to play a prominent rôle, must be assigned, not exclusively, it is true, but mainly, to this Master. Yet Viadana has a two-fold aspect. Indeed, the greater part of his sacred music, namely, four Masses, (v. *Missa "Cantabo Domino"*, *Kirchenm. Jahrbuch* 1889), Responsories, Lamentations, chants for Holy Week, Offices for the Dead, is written in the style of the old contrapuntal school, so that this Master, who passed away in 1627, may certainly be ranked as a zealous upholder of the old style "though his works already belong to the period of decline after the culminating point of vocal polyphony had been reached by Palestrina."

Ruggiero Giovanelli of Velletri succeeded Palestrina as chapel-master at St. Peter's. He achieved fame by his four-part "*Miserere*", which, however, was subsequently ousted by a similarly-named composition of Allegri.

Francesco Suriano showed great practical activity and was claimed as his pupil by Palestrina himself. He was born in 1549 at Soriano (in Latin Sorianum or Surianum), a little town in the neighbourhood of Rome, at the foot of the Cimino, "the Parnassus and Helicon, the abode of Apollo, the Muses, and the Graces", to quote the words of his countryman, Agostini. As a boy he won his first laurels in the choir of St. John Lateran. In 1587 he received the post of chapel-master at Santa Maria Maggiore, which he exchanged, in 1603, for a similar post at St. Peter's. Specially interesting among his compositions is an extremely intricate canon, of which Ambros says that it alone would be sufficient to secure for him a high place. "Such finished specimens show, too, on what a sound, firm, and solid ground the Roman School built its works—much superior to the Venetian—and that such knowledge and skill, far from being regarded as mere scholastic subtlety, graced and honoured their possessor. This training preserved the Roman School from shallow idealism and empty striving after effect, two dangers which, at times, threatened it considerably. The ideal style of

the Roman School is well represented in Suriano, so that one is almost tempted in this crowded and mighty epoch to believe in a 'specially favourable astral influence'. In proof of this, mention should be made of his "*Responsoria chori ad cantum Passionis D. N. Jesu Christi secundum quattuor Evangelistas*", as probably best exemplifying Suriano's fine musical style, which often passes into the dramatic (v. Mus. Supp. Jahrbuch 1895). Ambros might have added to the passages he cites, "*Crucifige*", "*Barabbam*", "*Descendat nunc de cruce*" &c., the very characteristic dice-casting scene at the close of the Passion of St. John "*Non scindamus eam, sed sortiamur cuius sit*", where in the anticipations of the soprano one can hear suggested, as it were, the tearing of the garment and the falling of the dice from the dice-box.

Suriano has a worthy rival in *Luca Marenzio* (about 1550—1599), hitherto valued as a composer of madrigals rather than a writer of sacred music, though his motets for the ecclesiastical year testify to his excellence in this direction. "Clear in thematic structure, very vocal in the part-writing, rich in variety, without difficult harmonic modulation, and fully satisfying in their beauty of tone, they afford quite an excellent means of instruction for ecclesiastical musicians." Michael Haller has edited them (v. Mus. Supp. Jahrbuch 1900—1903) and

deserves our thanks for having made them easy of access for purposes of study.

Mention has already been made of the work through which *Gregorio Allegri* (1584—1652) achieved fame, especially since he was appointed as one of the Papal singers by Pope Urban VIII. The '*Miserere*' was set for a four-part and a five-part choir and was sung every year on Good Friday by the Papal singers. It may have been not so much the beauty and depth of the work as the decree forbidding a copy of it being taken on pain of excommunication that wove a peculiar mystic secrecy about it and rendered it famous. It is well-known that Mozart as a boy of fourteen wrote it down from memory after having heard it once. Since then, it has been frequently printed, for the first time with the Pope's permission by Dr. Burney. One other remarkable monument of Allegri must be mentioned. He was one of the first Roman Masters to turn his attention to the orchestra and to produce original instrumental works.

A remarkable pupil of Allegri's was *Antonio Cifra*, afterwards chapel-master at Saint John Lateran in Rome and later in Loreto. A sentence in one of his letters to a certain Pierfrancesco gives us an interesting glimpse of the views then current on musical technique. He says: "Better let two fifths slip in, than correct them at the cost of the musical struc-

ture". The chapel-master at the Cathedral in Siena, *Agostino Agazzari* (d. 1640), also pays tribute to the spirit of musical reform; indeed, this trait becomes a characteristic of all the Masters of the epoch following Palestrina, who, with *Francesco Foggia* at their head, formed, "by blending the old and the new, a kind of intermediary or transitional style".

Foggia had in Cifra, B. Nanino, and Agostini excellent teachers and accumulated through his manifold activity a rich experience—for he was chapel-master of the Prince Elector Ferdinand Maximilian of Cologne, afterwards for several years at the courts in Munich and in Brussels, and, finally, till 1677, at Santa Maria Maggiore. He continued active up to old age, carrying out the duties of his office, and when he passed away, in 1688, it was generally felt that one of the greatest Masters had departed.

"From that time", says Ambros, "dates the decay of Church music, at least in general; for individual highly-distinguished works were still produced. Foggia's death, however, may be regarded as the closing-point of the great Roman School as such".

The Last Survivors of the Roman School.

The composers succeeding Foggia, namely, *Gasparini*, *Pasquini*, *Bay*, *Pitoni*, and *Biordi*,

tried, it is true, to remain faithful to Palestrina's style, but several circumstances conspired to render this fidelity merely superficial. If one compares, for example, the works of *Pitoni* (1657—1743) with those of Palestrina, one will be conscious, in spite of all their striving after the old style, of a great difference. "It is the same language, but the mode of expression has changed." Moreover, it was believed that a new glory should now be given to the old style by the combination of several choirs, and the number of parts was increased up to forty-eight—a purely external effect, devoid of real intrinsic merit. *Paolo Agostini* (d. 1629) and *Orazio Benevoli* (d. 1672) were masters of this art. *Virgilio Mazzocchi* added to these musical problems other external artifices of execution by placing his different choirs in St. Peter's in three or four different spots, probably in imitation of conditions prevailing in St. Mark's in Venice. It should also be mentioned in this connection that the dynamic signs '*crescendo*' and '*decrescendo*' are explained in the five-part madrigals of this composer, which appeared in 1640.

The other Masters of this era all stand more or less under the spell of this new style. These are: *Antonelli*, chapel-master in Benevento, *Ercole Bernabei*, afterwards called to fill Johann Kaspar Kerll's place in Munich, his son and successor *Antonio Bernabei*, *Abbatini*, and

finally *Pietro Francesco Valentini*, who devoted all his skill to musical artifices, "in comparison with which Okeghem's and Josquin's pieces, with all their curious canons, are but diffident beginnings" — among them a canon on the words of the *Salve Regina* "*illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte*" (given in Kircher's "Musurgia") which admits of upwards of two thousand interpretations! This musically-overwrought period of mass-effects in its turn passed away; two achievements must, however, be put down to its credit, namely, thorough-bass and the doubling of voices in the octave.

Beside the Roman School flourished the School of *Bologna*, with its Master *Giovanni Paolo Colonna* (1640—1695); in other towns in Italy and outside, composers of merit are to be met with likewise here and there.



The Neapolitan School.

About the end of the 17th century another change takes place in musical supremacy. If the Romans and the Venetians had taken over the rôle of leaders in the musical world from the Netherlanders, they had now in their turn to yield before the Neapolitans. The significance of the glory of Naples lies in its secular music, which is the result of an adoption and evolution of Venetian traditions. On this account the sacred music, too, of this period has absolutely the character of the later Venetian School, that is to say, side by side with many a good work in the old style there is to be found operatic music in the church. The very name of the founder of the Neapolitan School, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, (d. 1725 as chapel-master in Naples) betrays this duality. In any case it is no subject for regret that we possess only a small portion of the Masses (among them one in the Palestrina style!) which he composed in addition to a hundred operas. It seems all the more remarkable that

Francesco Durante (1684—1755), who succeeded him, gave the world no opera, but devoted his whole strength to sacred compositions, in which there is evidence of an agreeable style, full of fresh, melodious life. His pupil, *Pergolesi*, — he died in 1736, at the age of twenty-six — is the creator of the still famous *Stabat Mater*. His contemporary, *Emanuele d'Astorga*, likewise gained repute by the composition of the same text. The further works of the Neapolitan School do not concern us. It is sufficient to add that the celebrated German composer, *Johann Adolf Hasse* (1699—1793) also belonged to it, being a pupil of Porpora and Scarlatti.



The Venetian School.

The Early Venetian School.

A mighty rival was to arise for the Roman School in the almost contemporary Venetian. Its watch-cry was not attachment to tradition, but progress on new paths. Venice, as central-point of the movement, was adapted for this purpose, as probably no other city could be. A glamour of fairy-like beauty was shed over this Queen of the Ocean; stately marble palaces testified to the luxury and opulence of its pleasure-loving inhabitants. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that art, too, should be influenced by these happy conditions and assume a new form. Luxuriant harmony and rich colouring, chromatics and composition in many parts, and, not least important, independent instrumental music are the characteristic marks of this School.

Strangely enough, the founder of the Venetian School is a Netherlander, *Adrian Willaert*. Van der Straeten indicates the birth-place of "Messer Adriano", as the Italians called him, as Rouliers, in Belgium, where, about 1480 or

1490, he first saw the light. Of the many who passed over from legal pursuits to music, Willaert was at any rate one of the first. In 1516 he left Paris for Rome. A thorough musical training, for which he was indebted to Mouton and Josquin de Près, his teachers, procured for him, in 1527, after many disappointments and wanderings, through the powerful intervention of the Doge, the post of chapel-master at St. Mark's in Venice, one of the greatest musical appointments of that time. He died on December 7, 1562.

Writing for several choirs, which makes its way into the Venetian School, owed its being to the architectural structure of St. Mark's. This church had two opposing choir lofts, each with its own organ. This circumstance suggested to Willaert the idea of composing works for two separate choirs, which might at times unite in a single swelling chorus. This feature, henceforth, forms a distinguishing mark of Venetian music; we have here unquestionably the musical prototype of the alternating choirs in compositions of the Palestrina-style.

The Master was able, however, in spite of this mighty deployment of voices, to remain simple and clear. He devoted care to a good text-delivery. We have evidence of this in his two-choir *Magnificat sexti toni* as well as in a three-choir one, which, with the psalms *Confitebor tibi, Lauda Jerusalem, Laudate pueri*, is

considered Willaert's masterpiece. The Netherlander is seen in his motets for four, five, and six voices; he also shows incidentally his mastery over Netherland artifices. Even though recent research has been obliged to remove from his brows the garland of fame hitherto assigned to him as "Father of the Madrigal", we must nevertheless give credence to the report of Zarlino that Willaert was regarded as the first composer of his day.

Willaert's successor as chapel-master of St. Mark's was his pupil, *Cyprian de Rore*. Likewise a Netherlander by birth, he came at a very early age to Venice and, as chorister of St. Mark's, worked his way up from the lowest ranks. After a temporary sojourn at the court of Hercules II of Ferrara, he returned to Venice, to assume, on Willaert's death, the direction of the choir. After three years, however, he was drawn to Mantua, where death overtook him at the age of forty-nine (1565). Cyprian entered upon the inheritance of his teacher without giving up his independence, as is testified by his alternating eight-part choruses and his Masses and motets for four to six voices. His chief strength certainly lies in the domain of the madrigal, of which he is reckoned one of the cleverest and most celebrated exponents. Chromatics at any price is here his watch-word; his efforts in this direction are tentative and unsatisfactory. Through many experiments he

but prepared the way for that unerring mastery in the use of the chroma which later composers enjoyed. He presented to the musical world no less than five books of chromatic madrigals; the famous ones on Petrarch's "*Vergini*" have recently been published by Peter Wagner (Breitkopf and Härtel, 1893). Fortunately for musical development in the Venetian School during this period of exuberant vitality and growth, a Master made his appearance to guide into the right path a movement fraught with danger. This was Cyprian's immediate successor in St. Mark's (1565—1590), *Gioseffo Zarlino*.

Born in Chioggia in Venetia, in 1517, Zarlino entered the Franciscan Order at the age of twenty. The pioneer-work of the artist was accomplished in the domain of Theory; in his masterpiece, '*Istituzioni harmoniche*', he made his musical confession of faith. Summing up clearly and succinctly the yet meagre achievements of musical Theory, he constructed therefrom a system for future ages, to form the firm basis of operation for all subsequent works. The theory of counterpoint found, in the *Istituzioni*, for a long time its best and most exhaustive exposition, and if we inquire who first laid down the principles of Harmony in the new musical epoch, we must again mention Zarlino, who was the first to seize the very essence of Harmony in the duality of the Major and the Minor chord. We must not be surprised if, in

Zarlino, the composer by no means equalled the theorist. Besides, only a few of his compositions have come down to us and these few are not sufficient to justify decisive judgment.

His successor as chapel-master was *Donato*, who in his turn was succeeded, in 1603, by *Giovanni Croce*, one of the most remarkable and popular composers of the Venetian School (d. May 15, 1609). He was not only a countryman of Zarlino, a native of Chioggia, — hence also called "*il Chiozotto*" (in the Latinized form '*Joannes a Cruce Clodiensis*'), but his pupil as well. His compositions almost all bear the stamp of noble simplicity and at the same time of dignified grandeur, so that even to-day they are the chief favourites of our church choirs — for instance, his five-part Masses (v. Mus. Suppl. to Kirchenm. Jahrbuch 1888, 1892, 1899). It is interesting to observe that this grave priest, too, paid tribute to the spirit of the age in several collections of comic pieces (*Triaca musicale*, *Capricci*, for four to seven voices). A passage, recorded in the year 1547, containing Croce's opinion on the reception of new singers into the Chapel of St. Mark's may be cited here as a proof of the Master's interest in the musical culture of his singers: "I wish that the singers were also well instructed in counterpoint, for counterpoint is the fresh and pure air of good musicians. I am convinced that the performances would be much

better worth hearing, if all or the majority of the singers were trained in counterpoint”.

Willaert's fame lived on in his pupils, who worked in a number of different towns. Thus we find in Padua the distinguished Franciscan monk, *Fra Costanzo Porta*, from Cremona (d. 1601), whose works, according to the statement of Ansbaldus Cotta, were famous, not only in Rome, but throughout Italy. Particularly prominent among these are his motets for six voices, dedicated to Pope Sixtus V. But the grave friar who, “in his solitary cell, is a living embodiment of the Middle Ages”, did not devote his art to the Church alone, the world, too, had a share in it; he composed no fewer than five books of distinguished madrigals, the last volume of which was left in manuscript.

Venice possessed at this time not only masters of vocal music, but was also the chief seat of organ-playing. The Church of St. Mark's saw the best artists playing at the first and second organ. Here we are only concerned with these men in so far as they are also actively creative in vocal music. We shall consider them as organists further on.

Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli.

The Venetian School reached the acme of its development in the two Gabrieli, of whom the younger certainly surpassed the elder, his uncle. *Andrea Gabrieli*, called ‘Canareio’, after

the Venetian Quarter 'Canareggio' in which he was born, entered, in 1536, at the age of twenty-six, as singer at St. Mark's, occupied in 1566 Claudio Merulo's place as organist at the second organ, and died at a ripe old age in 1586 in his native town. Belonging to the School of Willaert, he was an extremely prolific composer, whose works include the usual forms of the time, motets, Masses, psalms, madrigals. Besides these he also wrote so-called *Concerti*, organ and instrumental pieces. He himself declares his chief work to be the six-part Penitential Psalms, though his many-choired compositions, which form by far the greater part of his works (e. g. the three-choir 66th psalm "*Deus misereatur nostri*") surpass the former in magnificence and beauty. He attained new tonal and colour effects by adding to the usual choir a second choir of higher, and a third of lower voices. His fame drew to him from afar pupils who bore brilliant names, for example, Hassler from Germany, Sweelinck from the Netherlands.

But the greatest of his pupils was his nephew, *Giovanni*. Born at Venice in 1557, Giovanni became, after his return from the court at Munich (1575—1579), Merulo's successor at the first organ at St. Mark's, and worked probably uninterruptedly in this position until his death, which is mentioned in his epitaph as occurring on August 12, 1612. Under

him the voice-distribution in the polyphonic choirs underwent the most thorough and extensive changes. Willaert still held to Netherland principles and gave to each choir the four customary mixed voices, Andrea Gabrieli went a step further and tried other combinations, while Giovanni proceeded with the utmost freedom, placing, for instance, four upper against four lower voices, whose connecting link was a mixed choir; thus often from three to four choirs were massed together in the most brilliant colour-array. This choir-multiplication constitutes one of the characteristic marks of this period, so that compositions for four voices pass almost for an exception. To this is added the orchestra, which in Giovanni no longer represents a mere duplication of the singing voices, or a transfer of the singing-voices to the instruments, but fulfils a mission of its own. Andrea Gabrieli says, in the Preface to the Penitential Psalms, that they "are suited to all kinds of instruments." Giovanni often writes out the parts for the various instruments, having regard for compass and timbre. With the increasing number of voices the composition naturally loses in clearness, and Winterfeld says on this subject (Giovanni Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter, vol. 2, p. 168): "With a small number of voices the different parts stand out prominently. With pieces for eight voices the melodic alternation of single voices is scarcely

distinguishable, whenever all join in together. The composer is accordingly compelled at one time to assign individual melodic life alternately to the one choir and to the other, or again, to contrast the two in harmonic masses." Greater variety was possible in pieces for voices and instruments, where, indeed, the instruments often supply merely connecting links. A glance at the chromatics of Cyprian de Rore and of Gabrieli shows us further how much advance had been made in this brief space of time. Now, too, was accomplished the process of separation of instrumental from vocal music, an evolution of the highest import for orchestral music, henceforth destined to an independent development. In comparison with the great symphonies of our time, indeed, the independent *Canzoni* and Sonatas of Giovanni can only be regarded as mere beginnings.

Giovanni was a reformer also in the sense that in his music the *subjective* element, which had hitherto lain almost completely dormant, gradually came into prominence, and thus the first step was taken in the musical emancipation of the individual.

It is well-nigh incredible that Giovanni Gabrieli should have composed no single Mass, though the writing of Masses always formed the supreme test of craftsmanship. The '*Symphoniæ Sacræ*', his most famous work, contain in two volumes vocal and instrumental

pieces for six to sixteen voices; equally well-known are his '*Canzoni e Sonate*', for three to twenty-three instruments "of all kinds"; and he has also written several books of madrigals. In view of this productive pioneer-work of Giovanni, we can readily understand why he passed for the chief glory of his age, exercising everywhere his potent and stimulative influence. His most famous pupil, Heinrich Schütz, bears testimony to this, paying tribute to his master's excellence in the following words: "If the Greeks had possessed such a man, they would have preferred him to Amphion; if the Muses had wed, Melpomene would have chosen him for her spouse."

That the rest of Italy, especially Upper Italy, was almost entirely under the influence of the Venetian School, is not surprising in view of the mighty intellectual current which streamed forth from Venice. It is true, men like the Gabrieli no longer arose, but worthy successors of these Masters still appeared.

Among these were the two *Vecchi*. *Orazio Vecchi* lived first as canon at Corregio, subsequently as chapel-master at Modena, where, at the age of fifty, death overtook him in 1605. His secular compositions particularly made him famous, especially his vocal comedy "*Amfiparnasso*" ('the twin-peaked Parnassus'). In this work Vecchi shows himself as a forerunner of the opera, if not quite in the Florentine sense.

Great skill in tone-painting and sharp characterization ensured him fame as a distinguished writer of Canzoni and madrigals. *Orfeo Vecchi* (d. 1604), worked as chapel-master at the church of S. Maria della Scala in Milan. His works are exclusively concerned with sacred themes and from the artistic and practical standpoint hold a considerably higher rank than the numerous, but formal sacred pieces of his namesake.

Cremona produced the composer *Marco Antonio Ingegneri* (d. 1592), the teacher of Monteverdi. He served as chapel-master in the Cathedral of his native town from 1576. That he was no insignificant composer is shown by the fact that his glorious '*Responsoria hebdomadæ sanctæ*' used formerly to be assigned to no less a Master than Palestrina himself, until F. X. Haberl restored them to their real author.

A strange personality in the era of polyphony is that of *Giovanni Matteo Asola* of Verona (d. 1609 in Venice), who wrote Masses for three voices.

The Later Venetian School.

On the boundary between the 16th and 17th centuries, as we have seen, the great musical reform of Florence had its rise. Contrapuntal art is forced to give way to monody, and a new musical style ensues.

The Venetian ecclesiastical composers could not shut out the modern spirit, and thus begins, with the 17th century, a new era for the Venetian School. It divides into an Early and a Later School. It is true that in the coming generation, especially in St. Mark's, Church music was not neglected, but the mission of the Venetians in ecclesiastical music was completed and closed in the earlier School. The centre of gravity of the later School shifted to the domain of secular music.

The second successor of Croce in the post of chapel-master at St. Mark's, *Claudio Monteverdi*, already furnishes proof of this. He was, as Riemann well remarks, "the great innovator who passed from the mere negation of the Florentine reformers to positive, new creation." His birth-place was Cremona. From 1590 to 1612 he sojourned at the court of the Duke of Mantua, in 1613 he was called to St. Mark's, where he remained till his death in 1643. Monteverdi's fame was won by his great madrigals and operas, which lie outside the scope of our observation. As composer of sacred music he wrote Masses, vespers, and motets for four to six voices, and psalms for one to eight voices, which, however, by no means reach the level of the great Venetian Masters.

His successor in St. Mark's was *Giovanni Rovetta*, who was trained by him. The greatest of his pupils and his "worthiest spiritual heir"

was, however, *Francesco Cavalli*. Received already in 1617 among the singers of St. Mark's he became eventually first organist in 1665 and, in 1668, chapel-master. At his best in opera-music—he left behind 42 operas—he also composed Church music, as, for example, his great Requiem for eight voices which was destined ere long to be performed at his own obsequies, in 1676. *Giovanni Carissimi* (born in 1604 in Milan), the Master of the Cantata and the Oratorio, takes his place fittingly beside him. Of sacred music by him we possess Masses, *Concerti sacri*, and hymns, noteworthy for their very vocal and solid writing. *Cesti*, next to Cavalli the most prominent representative of the Venetian opera, left no sacred works, but the Venetian *Giovanni Legrenzi*, from 1685 chapel-master at St. Mark's, did; besides Masses, psalms, and motets, he wrote sacred concerts, Cantatas, and sacred sonatas for instruments. An *Ave* and a *Salve Regina* for five voices and organ-Bass are considered masterpieces. He died in 1690.

The fame of the Chapel of St. Mark's extends even to the 18th century. One of the last representatives of the old style is Legrenzi's pupil, *Antonio Lotti*. His cradle probably stood in German territory, in Hanover, where his father was court chapel-master. He ran through the whole scale of musical honours in St. Mark's, where he was named chapel-master in 1736,

four years before his death. After a two years' sojourn in Dresden (1717—1719), whither he was summoned by the Prince Elector, his musical activity was almost exclusively devoted to sacred music, which he enriched by a number of solid vocal compositions. His style is plain and clear, but very effective withal.

When a composer writes no less than 69 operas, his strength might be regarded as exhausted; such was not the case with *Caldara*, whose work subsequent to his exit from among the singers at St. Mark's, belongs principally to Vienna (d. 1736). He also composed sacred pieces, which almost all excell in merit his secular compositions and are specially notable for their finished style and lofty tone—e. g. his masterpiece, a *Crucifixus* for sixteen voices.

Another Venetian, the statesman and patriot, *Benedetto Marcello*, composed a similar piece, which reached a renown that spread "throughout entire Europe", namely, his fifty psalms for one to four voices, with alternating *Soli* and *Tutti*. One would, however, scarcely be justified in bestowing the name "sacred" on these compositions.

A worthy pupil of Lotti is *Baldassare Galuppi*, who, in 1762, became first chapel-master at St. Mark's and deserved great credit as reorganizer of the *Capella*. After a nine year's stay in St. Petersburg he returned to his post and died in 1785. Galuppi was considered one

of the most fertile operatic composers of his time. The Church, however, owes him little; only a *Te Deum* of his attained any renown.

Of the other Venetians of this period the following deserve mention: *Saratelli*, a pupil of Lotti, and *Antonio Biffi*, whose psalms for eight voices are still produced in St. Mark's. They are the last survivors of the Great Venetian School.



The German Masters.



IN German lands also, at the time of the Netherlands, the art of polyphony flourished, though, in sad contrast with the conditions prevailing in that happy abode of peace between Maas and Scheldt, the storms of war raged through the Empire, and, together with political and sectarian strife, greatly trammelled a rich and free development of art. What we do possess, however, reveals the soundness and thoroughness characteristic of true German art.

The chief proof of this is afforded in the so-called "*Locheimer Liederbuch*", the contents of which date from 1390 to 1420. One cannot fail to be struck by the wonderful technical skill, united with natural euphony, which shows itself in these songs for two and three voices. Netherland influence is certainly unmistakable, but the specifically German manner cannot be denied.

One of the earliest and most remarkable Masters of the German song is *Heinrich Isaac*, "the German Orpheus". Though, according to recent authorities, he was born in Flanders

("Master Arrhighus, formerly Ugonis de Flandria, commonly known as Arrigus Ysach", runs his testament of Florence, December 4, 1516), nevertheless his entire personality is so full of true German feeling and sentiment that he must be placed at the head of the German Masters, just as the Netherlander Willaert is placed at the head of the Venetian. Besides, he spent a great part of his life in Germany as "*Symphonista regius*", in the chapel of Maximilian I. During his stay in Florence, being engaged on diplomatic service on behalf of his Master at the court of Lorenzo di Medici and acting at the same time as organist at San Giovanni, he made the acquaintance of the great Netherlanders who lived there, Josquin, Hobrecht, and Agricola, whose influence is to be traced in a certain cosmopolitan tendency present in his works. The great Master died in 1517. Isaac was an extremely prolific composer. Of his Masses Petrucci has printed one book, containing "*Misse henrici Izac*" (5), of which the Mass "*Comme femme*" in particular, is considered as a thematic masterpiece. That he was, however, also familiar with the artistic devices of the Netherland School is shown, for example, in the Masses "*Salva nos*" and "*Frölich wesen*". Among his motets the six-part pieces, dedicated to Pope Leo X and to the Emperor Maximilian I, are particularly note-worthy as really monumental creations. One of the most precious monu-

ments of early music, in itself a treasury of the most instructive models for studies of Gregorian Chant and figured counterpoint, is, according to Proske, his "*Choralis constantinus*", a setting of the Offices for the ecclesiastical year on Sundays and Holidays, on the Plain Chant *Cantus firmus* (which is found in the Bass). His great "*Oratio Jeremiæ Prophetæ*" must not be forgotten.

But he has poured forth in his secular songs all the tenderness peculiar to the German soul. Among them probably the best known, is: "*Innspruk, ich muss dich lassen*", still sung as the Protestant chorale, "*Nun ruhen alle Wälder*" and the Catholic hymn, "*O heil'ge Seelenspeise*".

Beside Isaac stand in places of honour the other German composers, notably, *Heinrich Finck* and *Thomas Stoltzer*. Educated in Poland, *Finck* served under three kings, Johann I, Alexander, and Sigismund at the Polish court and, from 1510 to 1513, at the court of Stuttgart. He appears to have given most of his attention to profane songs, which he published in 1536 under the title "*Schöne auserlesene Lieder*"; of Masses, that can with certainty be assigned to him, only a single one, for three voices, has hitherto been found (in Proske's collection at Ratisbon). It is, in general, a remarkable trait of the German Masters that they almost all delight in cultivating the hymn.

A somewhat more modest, but none the less worthy Master is *Thomas Stoltzer*, from Schweidnitz, who in 1526 died far from his native place, at the court of King Louis of Hungary. He wrote hymns, motets, and psalms, among them a five-part "*Misereatur nostri*", perhaps his best work.

Paulus Hofhaimer (Hofheymer) enjoyed such honours as seldom fall to the lot of disciples of music. At twenty-one already, he was court organist of the Arch-Duke Sigismund at Innsbruck. In 1490 Maximilian I called him to his court and ennobled him. The king of Hungary named him, on account of his excellent organ-playing, "Knight of the golden Spur." He must, indeed, have been a great player, for his contemporary, Joannes Cuspianus, calls him the Prince of musicians, who in all Germany had no equal, and one of his pupils, Ottomar Luscinius, praises his art in the highest terms. Unfortunately, we have to-day only a few of his organ-pieces (in Kleber's *Tablature* of 1524, in the Royal Library of Berlin). His German songs, on the other hand, containing much that is "tender and pious", are extant.

To Hofhaimer and his contemporary Senfl there attaches the memory of a musical aberration for which the humanists of the time, the famous Celtes and his followers at the University of Ingolstadt, particularly his pupil, Tritonius, are responsible, namely, music accord-

ing to classical verse-measure. Poems of Horace, Catullus, Virgil, Propertius were musically treated, according to their long and short syllables, in heavy note-quantities, a procedure which resulted in a most stiff and tiresome note for note movement. Yet it is a sign of the times—even the lute-player, Hans Judenkunig in Vienna, struck up on his lute the Horatian ode: "*Maecenas atavis*",—and a preparation for "that mighty revolution at the beginning of the 17th century, when homophony was born." For us the movement is of interest chiefly because its first monument, Petrus Tritonius' "*Melopoiae*", was, at the same time, the first example of the printing of German mensural notation with moveable types, set up by Erhard Oeglin at Augsburg in 1507.

Almost contemporary with Heinrich Isaac was *Stephan Mahu*, chapel-singer of the Emperor Ferdinand I, whose style is beautiful in its simplicity.

Of the many other Masters whom Germany can point to, whose influence is, however, mainly felt in secular music, we shall mention only a few, first among them one too little regarded, indeed, but none the less an efficient composer, *Leonhard Paminger*. Paminger was born in 1495, on the Austro-German frontier at Aschau. At the age of eighteen he preferred "to leave home and fatherland, rather than become untrue to the Muses", and went to Vienna. He

left it, however, for Passau in 1516, "where the beams of the new Gospel began to shine forth". That he was, during a twenty-eight years' activity, as Rector of St. Nicolas, in very friendly relations with Luther and at the same time enjoyed great renown as a composer, is evidenced by a dedication of Luther to Paminger, with the reformer's own signature: *Martinus Lutherus, suo Leonh. Paminger . . . Musico inter primos laudabili*". After an eventful career, Paminger died on May 3, 1567. "Testimony is borne to Paminger's unheard of industry", says Proske, (Preface to Mus. div. p. XV.), "in a collection which appeared after his death under the title '*Primus* (II, III, et IV.) *Tomus ecclesiasticarum cantionum 4, 5, et 6 vocum*'. In this work the Liturgy of the entire ecclesiastical year is most exhaustively treated and the harmonization of the psalms carried out with a completeness not achieved elsewhere." *Arnold von Bruck* (died 1545) also deserves mention. He was a Swiss, born at Bruck in Aargau, but a real German heart, full of German music, beat in his breast. He became renowned for his harmonization of much-sung songs: "*Mitten wir im Leben*", "*Gott, der Vater, wohn' uns bei*" and "*Komm' Heiliger Geist*". We have already noted his colleague, the chapel-master *Walther*, in reference to Luther's musical activity.

Far more important than Walther, to whom no further praise can be given than that of

having been the "earliest Protestant composer", is *Ludwig Senfl*. Born about 1492 at Zürich, he had as teacher no less a Master than Heinrich Isaac, and became at an early age chapel-master at the court of Maximilian I in Vienna. He exchanged this post for one at the Munich Chapel of Duke William of Bavaria, in whose service he died in 1555. Though a Catholic, this Master was sympathetic to Protestantism and by his chorale motets had a striking influence on the artistic development of the chorale, on which account he was held in high honour by Luther himself.

To a Bavarian town, the free Imperial city of Augsburg where the art-loving house of the Fuggers had its abode, belongs the glory of having sheltered within its walls several Masters of renown. These German composers no longer learned from the Netherlanders, but from the Italians, either of the Roman or of the Venetian School.

Hans Leo Hassler, a native of Nüremberg, was one of the most note-worthy pupils of Gabrieli the Elder, and, at the same time, a fellow-pupil of the Younger. We find reflected in his works the spirit of both Venetians. From Augsburg he went as chapel-master to Nüremberg, then entered the service of the Prince Elector, Christian II of Saxony, and died on a journey to Frankfort on the Main in 1612. He owes his elevation to the nobility to the Emperor Rudolf II.

He is considered the greatest of organists and the greatest master of German song of his age.

The following also worked in Augsburg: *Adam Gumpeltzhaimer* (d. 1625), famous for his thoughtful German songs ("*Lustgärtlein*", "*Würtzgärtlein*", "*Neue teutsche geistliche Lieder*"); the organist *Christian Erbach*, and lastly the too little-known *Gregor Aichinger*, a native of Ratisbon. After a prolonged period of study in Italy, chiefly in Rome, he was called as Canon to St. Gertrude's, where he died on January 21, 1628. His activity in Church music was very extensive. I shall mention only his three books of "*Sacræ cantiones*" for four to ten voices, and his "*Tricinia*". Plain simplicity and impressive solemnity mark his work. The fact that his works will appear ere long in a complete edition in the "*Monuments of German Music*", is a matter for congratulation. The honour of a complete edition was already bestowed on his contemporary, *Jacobus Gallus* (Handl), in the "*Monuments of Austrian Music*". He left his home at Krain after finishing his studies and, after several years' travel, obeyed in 1580 the call to the court of the Bishop of Olmütz, where he received the post of chapel-master; later he went to Prague, to the court of Rudolf II. Here death overtook him at the age of forty-one. His chief work is the '*Opus musicum*', containing motets for the whole year. Tender piety united with strong originality are

the pillars of his creative genius, which has laid for itself a lasting memorial especially in the profound: "*Ecce quomodo moritur justus.*"

The beauty and brilliancy of the Viennese court music in the 17th century is enhanced by the last and greatest of the German Masters, *Johann Joseph Fux*, the "Austrian Palestrina". His sacred pieces, composed in the old strict contrapuntal style, have won for him this title. Of his fifty-four Masses the "*Missa canonica*", which was richly equipped with all the finesses of the canon, and was dedicated in 1718 to Charles VI, is probably the most famous. Fux expounded the theory underlying his works in a comprehensive, methodic treatise, the '*Gradus ad Parnassum*', which appeared in 1725, "the theoretic Bible", as it was called—a work now completely forgotten. In reality, the *Gradus* was out of date in the author's own life-time, because he based his teaching not on the modern, but on the ecclesiastical modes. He passed away at the advanced age of eighty-one and was laid to rest in St. Stephen's, mourned by his grateful countrymen.



The English Masters.

We have already mentioned John Dunstable, the first great representative of the English School. During his time and till the beginning of the 17th century ecclesiastical music flourished in England. The sovereigns had their "Chapel Royal", in which they took pride, and their ecclesiastical functions were carried out with great splendour. In 1466 the brother-in-law of the King of Bohemia, making a tour through Western Europe, writes of Edward IV's Chapel Royal Singers: "We heard in no country more agreeable and sweeter musicians than these". Similarly many noblemen and ecclesiastical institutions had their chapels to which they were at great pains to attract the best musicians.

The names of a large number of composers of the 15th century have come down to us, but they are known only by few compositions. This scarcity of compositions is due to the Puritans, who were most zealous in destroying everything belonging to the old religion. Huge stores of manuscripts were used as waste paper, and priceless parchments were sent to bookbinders abroad "by ships' full".

In the 15th century the most famous composer after Dunstable seems to have been *Lionel Power*, who is also well known as the author of a theoretical treatise on music. Another theoretical writer of repute was *John Hothby*, called by the Italians Ottobi or Otteby, who died in 1487. Of his compositions very few, if any, remain. Other famous composers were *Robert Fairfax*, who was organist of St. Alban's Abbey and one of the chief gentlemen of the Chapel Royal; he died in 1521; *William Cornyssh*, master of the children of the Chapel Royal from 1509 to his death about 1523; *Richard Sampson*, Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1516; *Richard Davy*, who was appointed organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1490.

It must be admitted, however, that though these men, and many others, were very respectable composers, the English School after Dunstable was overshadowed by the contemporaneous Netherland writers, and did not produce men of the first rank until we come to the period of *Tye*, *Whyte*, *Tallis*, and *Byrd*.

Christopher Tye was born early in the 16th century, probably about 1510, was singer at King's College, Cambridge, as a boy and in early manhood, and organist of Ely Cathedral from 1541 to 1562. In later life he conformed to the reformed Church, after which he seems to have abandoned composition.

Whyte was Tye's pupil and son-in-law and seems to have succeeded him as organist at Ely. The date of his death is variously given as either 1567 or 1575.

Greater than these was *Thomas Tallis*, who was born about 1515. He was organist of Waltham Abbey for some years before its dissolution in 1540, and was subsequently a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, a post that he retained through all the changes of state religion till his death in 1585. Tallis is called the "Father of English Cathedral Music" on account of some compositions written by him for the reformed Church in the style demanded by zealots of the new religion, that is to say, note against note, in pure homophony, which became very popular. Before him Tye and Whyte had also written music for the English service, and after him Byrd and others did the same, though only Tye seems to have turned Protestant. But of late even among Anglicans the conviction is gaining ground that the main glory of these composers does not rest on these homophonic compositions, that, rather, they are incomparably greater in their polyphonic work. Many of their contrapuntal compositions are used, with English words, in the Anglican service. But recently Mr. Terry, the choir master of Westminster Cathedral has shown that these works were originally set to Latin words, and the English words were adapted to the compositions sub-

sequently. It seems that the restrictions placed on Anglican Church music deterred composers generally from writing for the Church, and most of them turned their whole attention to secular music. The Anglicans soon perceived the poverty of the musical services and as a remedy they began to put English words to compositions written on Latin words. One of the first important collections of such adaptations was published in 1641 by John Barnard, and thus works originally written for the Catholic Church were transferred to the Protestant service, where they attained considerable popularity.

Tallis is further famous for his Motet *Spem in alium non habui* written for 40 voices, eight five-part choirs. But his most artistic works are his five- and six-part motets, which for grandeur of architectural design and power of expression come close to the finest works ever written.

The English School found its climax in *William Byrd*. He was born in 1542 or 1543, probably in Lincoln, where, at the age of about twenty, he was appointed Cathedral organist. Subsequently he joined the Chapel Royal to which he belonged till his death in 1623. Remaining a true son of the Catholic Church he had to suffer considerable persecution, but his fame as a musician saved him from the worst. Byrd has been called the "English Palestrina", a designation which conveys the correct idea that in the English School he holds the place of

prominence which Palestrina holds in the Roman. In his special character, however, he is not like the Roman Master. He has not Pierluigi's perfection of form nor serenity of expression. He is rather, as Dr. E. Walker puts it "a strangely fascinating mixture of ruggedness and tenderness". His three Masses (for three, four, and five voices respectively), which have been republished in modern times, give a good idea of his power, but like the other Englishmen he is at his best in his motets. His versatility is also shown in his secular songs and instrumental pieces. But these are outside the scope of the present work.

About the time of Byrd's death Catholic Church music in England had practically come to an end. Religious services were prohibited, Catholics became few in number, and were subjected to severe disabilities. It is easy to understand, then, that no more new Church compositions were produced there. The only composer of note after Byrd, *Peter Philipps*, lived abroad, mostly in the Netherlands. The dates of his birth and death are not known, but his first works were published in 1580, his last in 1633. His style, though showing some of the traits of the English School, is very much influenced by the Italians. His works are generally joyful and always pleasing, reminding us, in this respect, of those of Giovanni Croce.



Restoration of Church Music.



Kaspar Ett and Karl Proske.

The sad state of complete decay of Church music in the 18th century and during the first half of the 19th, as we shall have occasion to show more fully in the chapters on instrumental music, called forth a general longing for radical improvement, but it was not until the Church had recovered from the storms of secularization which had assailed her, and until the ecclesiastical spirit had undergone a new birth, that Church music also could celebrate its resurrection. The history of its separation from the Church is like the history of its return. Plastic art and painting were already in the 17th century for some time under the spell of the Renaissance, while Church music, on the other hand, still obstinately clung to the old forms. It was not until later that it, too, bent its proud, queenly head beneath the yoke of the new movement. By this time, however, plastic art and painting had been led back by a sublime circle of artists to Church tradition once more, while music still awaited its delivery,

for its roots were still deeply embedded in corrupted soil.

Bavaria's art-loving king, Ludwig I, was the first to direct his attention to the restoration of Church music, and the man who carried out the king's behest was *Kaspar Ett*, born at Eresing on the Ammersee, 1788. A pupil of Schlett and Grätz at the Electoral Seminary in Munich, he received in 1816 the position of organist at the Court church of St. Michael's, with a yearly salary of two hundred florins. This post he held till his death in 1847. He was the first to turn his attention to the great creations of the 17th and 18th centuries and to set about rescuing from oblivion the masterpieces of the past by means of excellent performances with his own choir. Allegri's "*Miserere*" was the first artistic step of the new movement—which thus became the herald of a better time. The value of these reproductions from the old Masters is testified by an utterance of the Duke of Serro Cassano, then (1821) Papal legate at the Bavarian court, himself a trained singer: "Truly, they sing better here than in Rome!" Indeed, Munich soon received for this reason the honourable title of "The German Rome." It is further known that Thibaut, the famous Heidelberg jurist, a well-known connoisseur of old Church music, was desirous of taking up his abode in Munich in order to be "as near Ett as possible". Ett now took pains to breathe

into his own works likewise the spirit of the old Masters and thus trained the faithful in a purer standard of taste. Only a few of his works appeared in print. St. Michael's Court Chapel at Munich possesses any manuscripts he left. Along with him should also be mentioned the court chaplains of the time, Hauber and Schmidt, and later, the court chapel-master Aiblinger, who studied Italy's musical treasury at the command of the King and soon in his own compositions reproduced its noble beauty. It is clear that men of such rich musical attainments did not remain alone and isolated, but soon attracted to them disciples so that the ecclesiastical idea continued to gain ground. Yet this movement in music was, as it were, but the forerunner of the great reform which arose in Ratisbon. Here Providence had sent a man with whose name the revival of classical polyphony was to be coupled, namely, Dr. Karl Proske.

Karl Proske was born at Gröbnig in Prussian Silesia in 1794. As medical student he followed the call of his country and took a distinguished part in the German Wars of Liberation. In 1816 he received his Doctor's degree at Halle, passed in the same year the Government examination in Berlin and was received as practising doctor. When he was but twenty-eight he was appointed 'Kreisphysikus' for Pless. This was the first step to a brilliant career.

But Providence had arranged otherwise for him. Obeying an inner call to the priesthood, he hastened, when he had obtained his release from Government service in 1823, to Bishop Sailer, Suffragan Bishop in Ratisbon. From him, after a three years' conscientious preparation he received Holy Orders. In addition to his priestly duties Karl Proske devoted himself heart and soul to Church music. When Bishop Sailer was raised to the episcopal chair at Ratisbon in 1829, the moment at last seemed at hand for the work of Restoration.

In the Bishop's name he drew up a memorial on the decay of sacred music and added thereto suggestions for improvement. The Bishop handed the document over to his great pupil, King Ludwig I of Bavaria, and evoked a Royal Rescript of epoch-making character, which appeared on September 9, 1830. It runs as follows: "It is the will of His Majesty the King to restore, for the greater dignity of divine service, choral singing and music in the churches, above all in the Cathedrals, in accordance with the old, true style. For this end seminaries, monasteries, and schools shall provide the necessary training, and shall proceed to draw up a scheme setting forth what may be further required. . . . The Government is accordingly commissioned to take the necessary steps in the matter, in conjunction with the Diocesan authorities, and to show in due course what measures

are being adopted to attain the desired end, especially in Cathedrals, seminaries, and training colleges, and other educational establishments; also to report on what obstacles stand in the way, and by what means the re-introduction of better sacred music in towns as well as in the country may best be furthered." (Döllinger, Collection of Royal decrees, vol. VIII, p. 1071.)

Proske was now given by the King a canonry in the Collegiate Church of Our Lady 'Zur alten Kapelle', with the express intention of affording him leisure for the study of music. His appointment to the post of chapel-master at the Cathedral remained virtually inoperative, as he could not enter upon this office owing to conflicting duties and for reasons of health. He endeavoured none the less to carry out the King's wishes in every possible way, and to show himself worthy of such high trust. By laborious researches in the archives of Germany and Italy—according to his own manuscripts which are still preserved—he acquired knowledge and possession of the greatest musical masterpieces of ancient and modern times. In hitherto untrodden paths the full grandeur of musical art was revealed to him, an art which the genius of the classics had raised to the highest perfection, establishing beyond all doubt the equality of the much maligned lyric poetry of former time with the greatest achievements of all the other arts. To test for himself, to

select and transcribe these musical creations from their sources was his constant aim. For this he made every material and intellectual sacrifice, so as to be able to devote all his time and strength to a task which, on account of the lack of guiding, preliminary works, afforded promise only for the persevering. Though he fell far short of his goal, namely, a thorough and exhaustive historic treatment of the great specimens of an art which as an integral part of Christian divine service, always maintained the foremost rank among the arts, still his collection of classical works became a full and choice treasury of materials, the value of which is appreciated at home and abroad, and which, through being used both for literary and for practical purposes, was capable of attaining highly desirable results in the art of the sanctuary.

Three times the indefatigable investigator went to Italy, to return thence with rich spoil in old music. Rome, where he worked for over fourteen months, Florence, Pistoja, Bologna, Venice had each furnished him with precious material. Thus arose the great Proske Library, that treasury whose chief ornament are the "*Antiquitates Musicæ Ratisbonenses*", more than 1200 printed works or manuscripts, containing over 36,000 numbers of pieces by 15th, 16th, and 17th century Masters. In this "inexhaustible" Library, as the well known musical writer,

Dr. Arthur Seidl, says (*Wagneriana*, vol. II, p. 65) can be studied "theoretically, practically, and historically almost the entire development of music, at least that of Catholic Church music, not to mention the valuable treasury of manuscripts available only here, which make it unique in its kind."

In order to preserve this Library from being broken up, and to procure for the Cathedral choir an almost too abundant material for its performances—if one that first required working up—the noble Proske bequeathed to the Ratisbon Episcopate this really royal gift. May the happy day soon arrive which will behold this Library thrown open, through the munificence of the Episcopate, like that of the Vatican at Rome, for general use, to the lasting benefit of art and science!

Thus the foundation was laid, the ground prepared; now ensued the real and more arduous task, namely that of breathing life into those dead bones and calling into being the mighty structure whence should germinate new life. To introduce at one stroke this musical transformation Proske recognized as impossible, and therefore set to work with the greatest calmness, according to a pre-arranged plan—therein showing once more his reforming genius. First, he gathered together in his house the best singers of the town, especially from the higher classes of society, for so-called "Singing-

evenings", the repertoire of which mainly consisted of masterpieces of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. About this time, too, Proske found the man who took the first decisive step in public, *Johann Georg Mettenleiter*. The latter had worked from 1837 with extraordinary success as Choir-Director at St. Sebastian's in Öttingen. His remarkable musical gifts caused Proske to summon him to the Church of Our Lady 'Zur alten Kapelle' in Ratisbon. After Mettenleiter had presented himself to the public in a secular concert consisting almost exclusively of works from the old Masters, proving himself a cultured musician and capable Director, and had thus drawn general attention to this branch of music, he proceeded to produce in his church works of the old Masters in the so-called Palestrina style. In spite of much misunderstanding he gradually attained success and appreciation. Thus this style was revived and was now destined to triumph; it attained, however, its full glory and development in Ratisbon Cathedral.

In 1838 Proske was again summoned by the King to give his advice; in consequence of this the following Royal decision was given: "His Majesty is pleased to decree that henceforth . . . only choral chant (that is, chant without instruments) with or without organ-accompaniment shall take place in Ratisbon Cathedral". Consequently the chapel-master of the

Cathedral, *Schrems*, with enviable energy and high enthusiasm cultivated the new style in the years following (1851—1854), and his untiring zeal was ere long crowned with success. The art-loving Bishops of Ratisbon, Valentin von Riedel and Ignatius von Senestrey, protected and promoted the new growth with every possible care. Proske himself lived to see the first blossoms and fruits thereof. Thus begins for the Ratisbon Cathedral choir, under successive chapel-masters down to the present holder of the office, F. X. Engelhart, a new era of a glorious and brilliant tradition.

Franz Witt and the Cecilian Society.

The happy change which had just taken place in the town of Ratisbon unfortunately did not extend throughout the country. Here everything remained unchanged, nor did any one dream of improvement. In the midst of this barren period in Church music a man appeared as redeeming angel, who, equipped with the most excellent mental qualities, seemed made to undertake the reform of Catholic Church music, especially in the country. This man was *Franz Witt*. The eldest son of a teacher, F. X. Witt was born on February 9, 1834, at Walderbach in the Upper Palatinate. He could look back upon a brilliant period of study when

he received Holy Orders from Bishop Valentin on June 11, 1856. After a brief ministry he was summoned by his Superior to teach Catechetics and Homiletics at the Episcopal Seminary of Ratisbon; he was directed at the same time to conduct the choral instruction of the alumni. For this task he was eminently fitted by his excellent musical gifts and the excellent training he had received in music. As student he had been a chorister at St. Emmeram and subsequently, up to the time he left the "Gymnasium", at the Cathedral in Ratisbon. As theological student he occupied the position of Prefect of music in the Cathedral Prebend and thus, under the chapel-master Schrems, he passed through, as it were, a novitiate in sacred music. All attainments which he had thus acquired, gained in clearness and depth during his activity in Ratisbon. The more he occupied himself with the question of sacred music, the more there came upon him (as his biographer, Dr. Anton Walter shows in his *Life*) the thought of the necessity of a reform, and that insight at last grew into a resolve to come forward himself as a reformer.

November 1868 brought the decisive step. He published his pamphlet on the condition of Church music, dedicating it to all "clergymen, musical directors, and lovers of music". He wrote as motto "I have come to bring fire, and what do I desire better than to see it burn?" And

it did kindle, this fire of a new, pitiless tongue, that called things by their names and exposed wrongs wherever they occurred. Wilhelm Ambros says somewhere "An iron head and iron hands are needed by a reformer". Witt had both, only it was regrettable that he sometimes, forgetting himself in excess of zeal, shattered into pieces everything with his iron fist. For the future, however, it was necessary, not merely to tear down, but also to build up, to perform arduous and strenuous pioneer-work. Reforming ideas had to be circulated in order to produce activity everywhere and to guide and promote the reform in accordance with the spirit and the laws of Art and Liturgy. For this purpose the written word, the Press, was needed. Rightly recognizing this claim as pressing Witt founded his "Reformblätter"; already on January 1, 1866, appeared the "*Fliegende Blätter*" and owing to the abundance of material, two years later, the "*Musica Sacra*."

But these undertakings achieved success only slowly, partially, and indirectly. A Society alone could finally reach the desired goal, and at last this thought, long entertained by Witt and repeatedly uttered without result—as, for instance, at the Catholic Congress at Innsbruck—was to assume solid form and really be carried out. In 1868 in Bamberg the Cecilian Society was founded. With it a factor entered the world in which most, if not all the efforts to-

wards the reform of Church music found their common centre.

As objects the Society set before itself the promotion of Catholic Church music under the following heads:—

1. Plain Chant.
2. Congregational Singing.
3. Organ-playing.
4. Polyphonic Vocal Music, ancient and modern.
5. Instrumental Music.

On Dec. 16, 1870 followed the Papal Brief of sanction "*Multum ad commovendos animos*" and on May 1, 1871, the confirmation of Franz Witt as President of the Society through the Cardinal Antonius de Luca. The Austro-German Episcopate gave the new Society its warmest sympathy and approval.

Four times Witt bore the dignity and the burden of the Presidency, frequenting and personally conducting as often as possible the general assemblies of the Society. For twenty-three years he edited the periodicals founded by him, undertook journeys for the purpose of spreading the reform, held courses of instruction, and withal was actively engaged as both writer and composer. Not his own organs alone, but also newspapers and scientific musical periodicals contained essays and articles from his pen. As President of the Cecilian Society, he looked upon himself "as it were as

a watcher on a tower, who, whenever a wrong conception cropped up, attacked it with all his might and thus exercised his educative rôle not only within the Society itself, but in the musical world generally". The volume of his private correspondence, carried on in the Society's interests, is estimated by Walter at upwards of 30,000 letters—a gigantic total of useful spade-work! As composer, Witt was equally fertile, producing more than fifty works. The most remarkable of these, the *Exultet* Mass, the Masses of St. Lucia, St. Xavier, and St. Raphael, the Lamentations, and "*Stations of the Cross*", have become the common property of all the better choirs. It is easy to understand that in view of the numerous productions which were demanded owing to the dearth of suitable works, especially at the time of the establishment of the Society, a good many were written that show little intrinsic merit; the bulk of them, however, are full of melody and often highly dramatic. Witt had, unquestionably, a style all his own; he recognized this fully himself, for he says: "With regard to myself in particular, I maintain that my style is my own property. It has grown out of my training. I have never copied. Indeed I think I am justified in saying that my style was born with me. Nothing quite like my Opus 9—12, 32, 33, 48b &c. exists. My style may not be faultless, but at least it is my very own". And Franz Liszt once said

to Witt, in the presense of Cardinal Hohenlohe: "Let people curse and steal as they will, only write us twenty bars such as you have already given us!"

After the reformer had received in 1867 the post of inspector and choir-director at St. Emmeram in Ratisbon and had also temporarily been chapel-master in Eichstätt, he was drawn by his love for the ministry into the country and took charge of the little parish of Schatzhofen, where he laboured zealously till 1875. He was compelled, however, by bodily suffering, to his great spiritual grief, to take leave of his parishoners and to spend his last days as Emeritus in the near Landshut. On December 2, 1888, this gifted man closed his eventful career.

After Witt's death, the reform inaugurated by him continued to gain ground. Popes and Bishops proceeded to direct their attention to sacred music, guiding and inspiring its development by their decrees. The last announcement of the Holy See has already been referred to, namely, the '*Motu proprio*' of Pius X, of Nov. 22, 1903, the *Magna Charta* of sacred music. Thus there was developed within as well as outside the Cecilian Society (which continued to spread its branches at home and abroad) an uncommonly active musical propaganda, productive of the richest results.

If among much excellent theoretic and practical work now forthcoming there was much of lesser value, the fact must not surprise us seeing that this was the first stage of the movement. There was now "a great composing", and enthusiasm for the good cause forced the pen into the hands of many tyros.

A word as to the management of the Cecilian Society and its Catalogue. It is supremely important to discriminate here between the liturgic and artistic standpoint. As long as the Catalogue merely purports to set up a standard for the liturgic value of a piece, in other words, as long as the judgement of critics only rests on a purely negative basis—the exclusion of all incomplete, unsuitable texts and of all theatrical effects—the Cecilian Society but claims its just right and helpfully upholds musical practice. Only if it were to set up the idea that in the choice of sacred compositions its Catalogue should be regarded as sole criterion, so that works not found in the Catalogue should not deserve the appellation of "sacred" or, on the other hand, that pieces included therein absolutely fulfil the demands of art, the reproaches of its opponents would become justified and, moreover, its pretensions would not be borne out by fact. For excellent and worthy sacred music exists outside the Catalogue, while much finds a place within it that can claim no artistic merit but merely liturgical

correctness. That is certainly no very high standpoint, nevertheless it serves to justify the admission of such pieces, in order that a liturgically correct service may be attained even with the most humble musical implements.

However defensible the attitude of the Society with regard to the Catalogue may be, a stricter standard will in the future have to be applied to the artistic value of compositions, once the danger of a dearth in sacred pieces is no longer a matter for apprehension, but rather the opposite evil of over-production. On the other hand, criticism ought to avoid all narrowness, for greater scope must be granted to the artistic genius creating his work with a view to immortality than is required by the humble composer who produces in remote country churches ephemeral pieces.

The most important champion of the new movement since Witt's death is the actual President of the Cecilian Society, *Dr. F. X. Haberl*, Director of the Ratisbon School of Sacred Music. His very name stands for a whole programme. What Dr. Haberl has achieved on theoretic and practical ground, the former chapel-master, Michael Haller, has done for composition; indeed, he has been called, not improperly, the "Palestrina of the 20th century". Among the composers who, employing modern methods, produce artistic and at the same time popular work, *Ignatius Mitterer*, Director of the

Cathedral Choir in Brixen, deserves special mention. These masters were succeeded by fertile composers, who in various directions have enriched musical literature by valuable contributions, such as the following: Auer, Diebold, Ebner, Goller, Griesbacher, Könen, Meurerer, Nekes, Singenberger, Stehle, Wiltberger &c.

To name all the remarkable composers of sacred music in the Cecilian Society and outside it, or the men who have achieved permanent distinction as musical historians and writers or editors of various excellent periodicals dealing with Church music, would be quite impossible in this brief outline; this task must be reserved for a detailed appreciation of the work of the last three decades of the 19th century.

We can only add a few words about the reform in England, Ireland, and America.

In England Church music was practically dead for the most part of the 17th and 18th centuries, as we have already indicated. A new era, however, dawned after the passing of the Catholic Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791. The style of music was at first determined mainly by the compositions of S. Webbe (1740—1816), "whose every note appears to smack of the 'Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club', and who may be said, indeed, to have written for a hole-and-corner epoch of our religious exist-

ence, when we might consider ourselves but too happy that we were allowed the privilege of having any music at all" (*The Catholic Magazine*, 1843, p. 297). In course of time a more showy and theatrical style was introduced, just as on the Continent. The ecclesiastical authorities made early efforts to stay the abuse. Thus the First Provincial Council of Westminster, held at Oscott in 1850, complains of "unsuitable music" and enjoins that boys should be trained so that the voices of women singers may be excluded from choirs. These decrees were expanded at the Fourth Provincial Council, in 1873, when stress was laid on the teaching and singing of Plain Chant. In 1874 a series of articles in the 'Tablet', written by H. S. Butterfield, called attention to the work done by the German Cecilian Society. In the following year meetings of priests, organists, and amateurs began to be held at the Archbishop's House, Westminster, which led, in 1876, to the establishment of the Society of St. Gregory and St. Cecilia. In 1882, this society having died out, the "Catholic Gregorian Association" was started, which also came to an end after a few years. In 1888 the "English Society of St. Cecilia" was founded, which did not fare much better than its predecessors. Some good work was done for a long time at St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, and in recent years Church music receives great attention at

Oscott College, while the Birmingham "Society of St. Cecilia" shows some signs of life. Generally speaking it is undoubtable that many efforts are being made in various places to bring about a reform. But progress so far is slow. The most important event is the foundation, in 1902, of a properly equipped choir of men and boys at the new Westminster Cathedral, where the solemn Liturgy is carried out in rare completeness and with great reverence, and where Plain Chant and classical Polyphony receive due attention. The greatest obstacle to a development of Church music in England is probably the want of a School where organists and choir-masters would get a proper training.

In Ireland an "Irish Society of St. Cecilia", together with a monthly journal, '*Lyra Ecclesiastica*', were started in 1878 through the exertions of Father (subsequently Bishop) N. Donnelly. After a continued struggle for existence Society and Journal died in 1893. The main difficulty in Ireland is the want of trained singers. The most important factor for an improvement in Church music was therefore, probably, the action taken by the Commissioners of National Education, in 1900, to promote the teaching of music in the Primary schools. They appointed an Inspector of music and gave him some assistants, who, for a number of years worked in various centres to instruct the teachers and to start singing classes in the

schools. The results were most satisfactory. While in 1899 only 17% of all the schools had music teaching of any kind, after a few years this percentage was raised to over 80, and a continuous improvement in the quality of the teaching has been going on also. Two other facts require chronicling. The first is the establishment, in 1888, of a special chair for Church-music in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, where most of the clergy of Ireland get their theological training. The other is the endowment, through the generosity of Mr. Edward Martyn, of a choir of men and boys at the Pro-Cathedral, Dublin, in 1902. By the articles of its foundation this choir is to give special attention to Plain Chant and classical Polyphony.

In America J. B. Singenberger started, in 1873, an Association of St. Cecilia, of which he has been the President ever since. He also issued a journal '*Cæcilia*', which was written mainly in German. The Society produced very good results, and its annual Meetings, continued till 1903, were occasions of excellent performances of true Church music. Unfortunately the Society was not able to strike roots except in German parishes. To get at English-speaking organists and choirs Singenberger made two attempts to start an English Periodical — the *Echo* and the *Review of Church Music* —, but both failed after short periods on account of want of support. In 1905 the

Dolphin Press of Philadelphia started an English Periodical '*Church Music*', which it carries on in spite of great discouragement. There are undoubtedly signs of a regeneration, and it is to be hoped that in due time the great abuses marring the Church music of America will be removed, and that good music will be performed in an adequate manner.



Instrumental Music.

Rise of Instrumental Music and its Gradual Secularization.

By Instrumental music we mean vocal music accompanied by instruments, as pure instrumental music was never admitted by the Church as liturgic music. Let us first cast a hasty glance at the music of the Jewish Temple. If the report of Josephus Flavius concerning the employment of 200,000 singers, 40,000 harps, 40,000 zithers, 200,000 trumpets, at festivals has no weight, by reason of its intrinsic impossibility, we are informed, nevertheless, on the authority of other sources, that instrumental music constituted the chief characteristic of divine service in the Temple, especially in the chanting of the psalms, where the different instruments played a prominent rôle. It was otherwise at the beginning of Christianity. We learn from contemporary writers that every kind of musical instruments was excluded from the early Christian services. To quote only one passage, Clement of Alexandria says:—"We employ but one instrument,

the peaceful Word alone, neither the old psaltery, nor the tuba, nor drum or flute, loved of those who arm for the fray”.

Besides the sensuous character of the instrumental music of that time, only suited to tumultuous heathen festivities, and not in harmony with the earnest teaching of Christ, an external reason of a practical kind may have necessitated the exclusion of instruments. If it is highly probable that the first Christians so long as they had to worship in the bowels of the earth—the catacombs—for fear of discovery, sang little or with muffled voices, they must have avoided all the more the noise of instruments. Indeed, if Christianity upon its entry into the world had not been forced to struggle against manifold obstacles, the whole course of development of Church music might have been materially different. Just as early Christianity did not, in principle, oppose the other intellectual phenomena of antiquity, so she might have seen fit to throw open her doors to instrumental music, when it had been cleansed and purged of profane tendencies.

In addition to the organ, other instruments were undoubtedly in use in the Middle Ages, even where the Gregorian Chant was extensively practised—as, for instance, in the monastery of St. Gall; but there was here no question of instrumental music developing independently on its own lines. Neither can the instrumental

music which occupied an important place in the 16th century make any claim to independence. We know that princes of the time had at their courts their own chapels, which attained considerable importance, especially the greater among them, as, for example, those of Munich, Venice, and Vienna. Prominent composers, singers, and instrumentalists of note and standing were among their members. As a matter of course, these chapels had to provide music, not only for court festivities, but also for divine services. Hence composers were obliged to produce works adapted for these forces. Accordingly we find, especially in the second half of the 16th century, a number of ecclesiastical works with instrumental accompaniment. The character of these instrumental pieces is sufficiently indicated by the title; Orlando, for instance, prefixes to his five-part motets, which appeared in Vienna in 1562, the direction: "Intended for human voices and for instruments of every kind." The parts of the singing voices were merely transferred to instruments. This naturally served a double purpose: either the instruments strengthened the singing voices, or they supplied those wanting, particularly in smaller chapels. Independent instrumental music did not exist previous to the Venetian School under Giovanni Gabrieli; he served as a model for other composers, who, like Monteverdi, continued to cultivate this branch.

It is not strange that the ecclesiastical spirit rapidly disappears from the works of this period. The blame cannot altogether be assigned to the revolution brought about in the musical world by the introduction of the monody; for the new style of music was, in itself, not less suitable for the Church than the old. The main cause was the circumstance that composers wrote at the same time for church and theatre. Two such widely different elements could not possibly emanate from the same creative force without one of them suffering thereby. The fact that composers determined to give their best to the theatre, and concentrated accordingly their whole strength upon this department was the smaller part of the evil. The greater calamity certainly was the introduction of the worldly spirit into the Church. This spirit could, henceforth, never be exorcised from sacred music; it stamps subsequent epochs with the seal of its sovereignty, especially as the instruments attained an ever-growing independence and perfection, and their combinations in the orchestra were manipulated with increasing skill and refinement. Thus gradually the sacred music of the 18th century became theatrical. Moreover, the intrinsic value of the works decreased continually: the composers no longer possessed that perfect mastery that marked the writers of earlier periods.

Richard Wagner, who, as court chapel-master in Dresden was a competent and entirely impartial judge, describes the degeneration of instrumental music in the following trenchant terms: "The first step in the decay of true Catholic sacred music was the introduction into it of orchestral instruments. Through them and by their freer and more independent use religious utterance was forced to assume a sensuous character, greatly to its own detriment and to that of singing as well. The virtuosity of the instrumentalists at length called forth in the singers a similar virtuosity, and ere long the secular operatic taste penetrated into the Church. Certain passages of the sacred text, like the *Christe eleison*, were marked out as standing texts for operatic airs, and singers trained in the manner of the Italian Opera were brought into the Church to deliver them". (Gesammelte Schriften, vol. II., p. 335.)

From out of this 'Slough of Despond' the three names of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven shine forth like beacon-lights.

Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven.

In considering the sacred pieces of these Masters we must again distinguish the musician's standpoint from that of the liturgist, never losing sight of the fact that the supreme great-

ness of these intellectual giants is based not on their sacred, but on their secular compositions.

We find among their sacred works creations which musically considered bear the marks of the highest perfection, but from the liturgic standpoint, unfortunately do not fulfil the conditions imposed by the Church for pieces intended for divine service. To deny to the Church this right of legislation, would be to disregard the elementary laws of logic. Objection could only be raised against these liturgic claims, if they were found incompatible with musical art. That, however, is by no means the case. The Church lays down as essential a complete and rational declamation of the prescribed text and the avoidance of everything profane and theatrical. If stricter demands are made, they are not the demands of the Church, but mistaken private interpretations. But the possibility of creating, within the limits laid down by the Church, real works of art, is attested by quite a number of distinguished compositions—as for example those of Brosig, Rheinberger &c. Mozart and Haydn did not obey these conditions. The blame for this may perhaps be less due to these Masters themselves personally, than to the spirit of the age, in which the sense of gravity and dignity in sacred music was entirely wanting, a spirit to which Mozart and Haydn in turn submitted. This circumstance is deeply to be deplored,

seeing that these Masters could, if any one could, have achieved the very highest in this branch, while observing the laws of the Church; we do not hesitate to quote the words of Raymond Schlecht in his 'Geschichte der Kirchenmusik', concerning the instrumentalists of the 17th century, and to apply them to Mozart and Haydn: "They could have created and guided to its development an ecclesiastical style, which in its sacred character would have equalled Palestrina's, and in richness would have excelled it." That an artistic development of sacred instrumental music in this sense is possible in the future, nay even probable, everyone who knows the whole movement for the reform of Church music, will admit; already, indeed, a promising start has been made. Church and Art alike would benefit from the development of this branch, a fact which the founder and first President of the German Cecilian Society, Franz Witt, recognized when he wrote to Liszt: "May God send one day a Palestrina for modern Orchestral music!"

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, born on January 22, 1756, was the son of Leopold Mozart, court-musician of the Prince-Bishop of Salzburg. Genius revealed itself in the boy at an early age, and soon the father, with his six-year old son, undertook art-journeys to Munich and Vienna, which were attended by unexampled success. In 1769 Wolfgang was appointed

concert-master in Salzburg, but he spent the greater part of his richly productive life in Vienna, where he met an untimely death on December 5th, 1791, at the age of thirty-five. His secular works do not concern us here. The complete collection of his works (published by Breitkopf and Härtel, 1876—86) contains of sacred music 15 Masses, 4 Litanies, 4 Kyries, 9 Offertories, a *Te Deum*, and several miscellaneous pieces. Mozart's masterpiece is his great *Requiem*, which was completed by the Viennese chapel-master Süssmayer. Haydn says of this work: "Had Mozart composed nothing else but his string-quintets and his Requiem, he would have been immortal" — not, however, we must add, in the Church, but in the concert-hall.

In considering critically these Masters and their works, we shall purposely quote writers, who, being enthusiastic admirers, cannot be accused of hostile bias. Thus Dr. Heinrich Reimann says of Mozart: "His Masses are unequal in value, but even the best, those put by Jahn next in merit to the Requiem, are, in spite of manifold excellences in other respects, so narrowly conceived, so entirely adapted, not merely to certain local conditions, but also to the taste of individual clerical dignitaries and general convention, that the composer who otherwise knew so well how to fit the tone to the word, here often appears thoughtless, so little

does he trouble to render the meaning of the text in his music. Yet there lies such an inexhaustible store of real musical feeling hidden in the Mass text that at the first glance it seems incomprehensible how Mozart, instead of artistic depth and poetic musical inspiration, so often could give merely elegant and brilliant contrapuntal passages". (*Allgemeine Musikzeitung*", in a criticism of Jahn's Biography of Mozart.)

It is known that the opinion of Witt on Mozart underwent considerable modification. As long as he let himself be guided by Otto Jahn's views, it was of a milder character than his later judgement, based on exhaustive personal research. From this later period—about 1886, two years before his death—dates his criticism of the two Masses of Mozart which were eventually regarded as admissible into the Liturgy, namely, those composed on June 24, and August 8, 1774, in F and D (Nr. 192 and 194 in Köchel's list); of these Masses he says: "Whoever desires to serve Art, (where instrumental music is in use), let him perform Mozart's 8th and 9th, and let him disregard *all* the rest!" Amongst the other works of Mozart the "*Ave verum corpus*" is a wonderful and deeply moving piece of sacred music.

What has been said of Mozart, applies equally to Haydn. *Joseph Haydn* was born on April 1, 1732 in the village of Rohrau in Lower

Austria. Even when he was a chorister boy in Vienna, his remarkable musical talent showed itself. Constant want and hardship made his life bitter, but his restless energy and incessant study received their rich reward, especially after he had been appointed chapel-master to Prince Esterhazy, and thus had been insured against dire poverty. After the chapel was dissolved, he went to Vienna, where he died on March 3, 1809.

Haydn's merits, too, naturally lie in secular music; he is specially remarkable as the creator of the modern Symphony and the Quartet. Of sacred music he left 13 Masses, the same number of Offertories, two *Te Deum*, a *Stabat Mater* &c. "Haydn", says P. Mayrhofer, (*Reform der Kirchenmusik*, p. 123) "writes in a grander strain than Mozart, he has, as a rule, a larger orchestra, his pieces are, moreover, usually of greater length (fugues), he often soars to a great height, the spirit that penetrated him in his "Creation" often reappears, but in delicacy and grace as well as in instrumentation he is decidedly inferior to Mozart. We miss the ecclesiastical note in him even more than in Mozart. The "*Qui tollis*" of his Creation-Mass is a case in point. That the author of the "Creation" should descend to such a melody, and that in a composition intended for the Church, is truly to be wondered at." Haydn's pious naive mind certainly is in part respon-

sible for the frequent boisterous extravagance of his writings. Indeed, he once confessed to Carpani that the thought of God made his heart leap with joy, and his music into the bargain!

This secular spirit he has also implanted in the mind of his pupil, Beethoven, who gives expression to it in his two Masses in C and D. *Ludwig von Beethoven* was born on December 17, 1770 in Bonn, as the son of a singer at the court of the Prince Elector. Aware of his brilliant talent, the Prince Elector sent him, in 1792, to Vienna, where he became Haydn's pupil. The little village of Mödling near Vienna and the Imperial city itself remained in turn his abode; here his unrivalled instrumental works originated. On March 26, 1827, he passed away, deafness having clouded the later years of his life.

Beethoven is the greatest Master of modern instrumental music, the Titan among his contemporaries, Mozart and Haydn. His two Masses show this. For a long time his first Mass in C was treated in criticism with the same injustice as his First and Second Symphonies, though taken as a whole, it must rank as a masterpiece. It is, however, ill suited for the Church, as is also his incomparable *Missa solemnis*. Let us quote on the latter words of his biographer, Nohl: "This piece with its peculiar spirit, has in common with the Church only what we have called the origin of all reli-

gions, namely, deep and fervent devotion to the Godhead, the nostalgia of the soul for its Eternal Home It is so independent of the words affixed, that the composer himself wished to assign another (German) text to the music. He certainly only retained the words at all, because without words it could not be sung! His work is primarily instrumental music. It has no definite verbal meaning; no fixed underlying idea."

Once more in recent times voices have been raised to claim for divine service the sacred pieces of the three Masters. Thus Dr. Alfred Schnerich takes up the cudgels for Mozart and Haydn against Professor Kretschmar; Dr. Karl Storck in his recent: 'Geschichte der Musik' and Dr. Fritz Volbach in his: "Beethoven", just issued, try to free the *Missa solennis* from the objection of liturgic unsuitability raised against it.

Whoever has penetrated deeper into the spirit of the Catholic Liturgy, within whose frame-work the performance must, after all, take place, will see that between the seriousness of the liturgic act and the gaiety which marks these compositions, an abyss yawns which is not to be bridged, quite apart from the question of text, and he will recognize that Mozart, and Haydn, and Beethoven are not to be saved for the Church.

Composers previous to the Restoration of Instrumental Music.

Cherubini (b. 1760 at Florence, d. 1842 at Paris) composed, almost simultaneously with the Viennese Masters, his important secular pieces and several sacred works dating from the time during which he worked at the Royal court chapel in Paris. We possess by him 11 Masses (among them the famous Mass in F), many parts of Masses, 38 motets, Graduals, and hymns. These, too, with all their inherent nobility and dignity are masterpieces of religious music, but are not ecclesiastical in character.

Haydn's brother, *Michael Haydn*, of all the Masters of the time approached perhaps most nearly to the requirements of Church art, at least in his works written without an orchestra, of which the "*Tenebræ*" and the two "*Missæ Quadragesimales*" are the most famous. As musical director in Salzburg he wrote numerous Masses, Graduals, and Offertories; his brother, Joseph, and Mozart recognized without envy his superiority over themselves. Another productive Master of this time was the court chapel-master in Vienna, *Joseph Eybler*; he is followed by many well-known composers, such as *Preindl*, *Albrechtsberger* and others, whose talent cannot be questioned without injustice. But besides these there are others, in no inconsiderable number, too, in whom not merely the

will, but also the power, is absent. The name *Schiedermayer* is typical of this class. Things could not become much worse, salvation must be nigh. The great thought of Restoration which the Cecilian Society had conceived, drew also instrumental music into its orbit; henceforth, a worthy instrumental music makes its appearance, numbering, among its most prominent representatives, Masters like *Brosig*, *Greith*, *Rheinberger*, *Filke*, and others.

The Organ and its Masters.

The first instrument admitted by the Church to its rites was the organ. The history of its origin and first development is yet clouded in obscurity. It was certainly known to the Greeks and Romans. We learn that in the second century before Christ a certain Ktesibius of Alexandria built a hydraulic organ. The organ is said to have been introduced into the West in the 8th century, when the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Copronymos presented to Pepin in 757 a hydraulic organ, and Charlemagne had an organ built upon this model in the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. Monuments of plastic art and literature show traces, however, which prove that the organ was known in the West before that time. Moreover, the circumstance that Pope John VIII summoned from Germany

an organ-builder, testifies to an already highly developed art in Germany. This art was for the most part in the hands of monks, who were not only in purely intellectual affairs the chief exponents of culture of the age, but also accomplished much in technical matters. The first period of organ-building had to struggle with the greatest technical difficulties, and quite extraordinary legends are narrated concerning the first products of the art. Schlecht in his *History of Church Music* mentions an organ at Winchester with 10 key-boards to 400 pipes "which is played by two organists, its 26 bellows being worked by 70 men." And withal these organs had not even a pedal, the invention of which is not to be ascribed to the Venetian organist, Bernhard, — nick-named "The German", — but is a German invention of the 15th century. The English first got the pedal through the Abbé Vogler at the end of the 18th century. Registers did not come into general use before the 15th century; to this period also belongs the enlargement of the key-board &c. In reality it required a long process of development, before the art of organ-building reached in the course of succeeding centuries that finished technique which enables the Organ at present to produce such perfect works of art as have won for it the proud title of "King of Instruments." The principal instruments of the early days of organ-building do not convey

the idea of organ-playing in the modern sense of the word. Organ-playing at first probably consisted in this, that the melody when it was simple in character and slow in movement, was played on the organ, or that a basis was laid by prolonging the fundamental-note, the fifth, or the octave. When the *Organum* celebrated its vocal triumphs, organ-playing, too, may have taken an active part therein. Indeed Riemann refers the beginning of organ literature to the use of the organ at singing practices. That the organ was merely used for giving the key-note, as many historians believe, is not likely; for that purpose no such complex mechanism would have been needed, and the simplest little instrument might have served.

The period of the perfected organ brings us also to the names of the first organists. *Francesco Landino*, or "Cieco" as he was called on account of his blindness, comes forward as the earliest of the organists of the second half of the 14th century (d. 1397). Johannes Wolf announces the existence of several hundred of his pieces in Italian, English, or French libraries. The earliest German organ-tablature, the "*Fundamentum organisandi*" is the work of the blind organist *Konrad Paumann* (d. 1473, at Munich) whose interesting tombstone, representing the Master at the organ, is still preserved in the church of Our Lady in that city. The Heidelberg court organist, *Arnold*

Schlick, the Elder, shared with Paumann the sad lot of blindness; he was renowned for his "Mirror of organ-builders and organists" (1511). Among the earliest literature on this subject are "*The Buxheim Organ-book*", the "*Fundamentum* by Hans of Constance", and the tablatures of Kleber and Kotter. But the *oldest* monument of all comes down to us from England in the 14th century—a century before Paumann—consisting of pure organ-pieces as well as of *Intervolatures* (or adaptations) of vocal pieces.

As we have already seen, the first instrumental pieces were for the most part nothing but vocal compositions transferred to instruments. It was likewise with organ music. The Venetian School at length opened up new paths. The organists of St. Mark's were the daring innovators who brought about this step, and among these *Claudio Merulo* (b. 1533 at Corregio, d. 1604 at Parma) is considered the "Creator of an organ style that corresponds to the technique of the instrument." Not less illustrious are the two *Gabrieli*. Of Andrea we possess pieces interesting from their contents, called "*Intonazioni d'Organo*", short pieces in the different Church modes. Giovanni achieved more, especially in his Intonations, in which, for the first time, "the chord as chord comes into its own", as, indeed, at the beginning of the 17th century homophony was first developed in con-

nection with organ playing. Very interesting are his Canzoni, organ-pieces in fugue-like forms, though in point of strictly thematic development not yet on a level with the fugues of Bach or Handel. This era was rich in ambitious names given to the various compositions: Fantasias, Contrapunti, Intonations, Ricercari, Toccati, Passacaglias &c., often merely different titles for the same thing.

Frescobaldi (b. 1583 in Ferrara, d. 1644 in Rome), the most renowned Italian organist of the 17th century, was a highly important factor in the development of the fugue. The chief field of his activity was in Rome, where his playing sometimes gathered round him upwards of 30,000 listeners. As composer, too, Frescobaldi made a name for himself, though he is less remarkable for his compositions than for the improvements he made in the technique of playing, and for his educational work. His most remarkable pupils were *Johann Kaspar Kerll*, chapel-master in Munich (d. 1693), and *Jacob Froberger*, court organist in Vienna (d. 1667). With these we turn to Germany, where organ music was to celebrate its greatest triumphs.

But first let us briefly recall the most famous epoch of English organ music and its representatives, who worked partly in public churches, and partly as virginal and organ-players in the Chapel Royal: Prior *Digon* (d. 1509), *Fairfax*

(b. 1460), *Tye* (d. 1572), *Morley* (d. 1604), *John Bull* (d. 1628), *Byrd* (d. 1623).

The connecting link between Italy and Germany was a pupil of Zarlino and Gabrieli, the Netherlander *Jahn Pieters Sweelinck*, organist at Amsterdam (b. 1562, d. 1621), who may be regarded as the real inventor of the organ-fugue. From his school went forth the greatest German organists: *Jakob Pretorius* (d. 1651), *Heinrich Scheidemann* (d. 1663), *Adām Reinken* (d. 1722), who all worked at Hamburg, and *Samuel Scheidt* (d. 1654), one of the great "S's" (*Schein*, *Scheidt*, and *Schütz*), who wrote most of his works in his native Halle. The remarkable predecessor of Bach, *Dietrich Buxtehude*, organist at Lübeck (d. 1707), was noteworthy for his skill, as was his Bavarian colleague, *Johann Pachelbel* (died 1706) at the Sebaldus Church in Nuremberg. In another Bavarian town, in Passau, we meet an excellent organist, the Alsatian *Georg Muffat* (d. 1704) at the court of the Bishop. If Froberger had in his works a certain cosmopolitan trait, assimilating the musical influences and inventions of other lands while working them out in the German style, this is also in a sense true of Muffat; during his six years' sojourn in Paris as pupil of the musical reformer Lully, he enjoyed abundant opportunity of becoming acquainted with French music.

John Sebastian Bach and George Frederick Handel.

John Sebastian Bach sprang from that famous family of organists which for six generations played a leading rôle in the musical world. Bach was born in Eisenach on March 21, 1685, and was the son of the court organist in that town. He held many posts—some of them poor ones—till, finally, after Kuhnau's death, in 1723, he was summoned as Cantor to the famous Thomas School in Leipzig. For twenty-seven years he worked with unflagging creative enthusiasm, which caused him to produce an extraordinary output of works. If his composing activity in Weimar was chiefly directed to organ, and, in Cöthen, to instrumental, Chamber, and piano music, in Leipzig he devoted himself chiefly to sacred vocal music.

Bach entered the domain of the Catholic Liturgy in his Masses, only, however, by the text. He wrote four so-called "short" Masses—containing *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and *Sanctus*—and the High Mass in B minor, which, with his Passion of St. Matthew, is his most monumental work in sacred music. If we consider, however, its wide scope, how it is built up of Arias and Duets in the Italian form, of extensive choruses and instrumental interludes, we shall recognize in it a worthy pendant to Beethoven's *Missa solemnis*, but also its similar character

as concert-music. The rest of Bach's sacred pieces are, for the same reason, not suitable for liturgic purposes.

While piano music only begins with Bach, organ music really comes to an end with him. Here he stands as the Titan among the Masters of the organ, who incorporates in himself the musical power and feeling of a whole generation. As a gigantic terminal-stone at the frontier between two epochs, he unites the contrapuntal art of the old Masters with the modern harmonic principle. Like the old Masters of classic polyphony, his name, too, fell into oblivion, for in the time of Mozart and Beethoven Bach's name was hardly known. It was reserved for our own day to rescue Bach from oblivion and to test once again the victorious strength of his creations. Certainly these will never attain popularity, but they will ever form the precious inheritance of a small, art-loving community. On July 28, 1750, the great Master passes away, almost completely blind.

Bach's most important pupils were his own sons, *Friedemann*, *Emmanuel*, and *Johann Christian*, and further *Kittel* and *Johann Ludwig Krebs*.

Beside Bach stands also pre-eminent *George Frederick Handel* (b. 1685 at Halle, d. 1759 in London). Of his works, published under the editorship of Chrysander by the German Handel Society (1859—1894) in 100 volumes, only his

5 *Te Deum*, 12 great psalms, and his Fantasia, Suites, and Fugues, and 20 Organ-concertos concern us; his vocal pieces could not be used in the Liturgy, several of his organ-pieces, however, are frequently found in present-day concerts.

Thus the Protestant Church, in whose Liturgy organ-playing finds a much larger place than in the Catholic, possessed a number of great organists. The succeeding period also contained several illustrious names, among whom the following deserve special mention: *Rink, Hesse, Ritter, Thiele* and, above all, *Mendelssohn*, the first composer since Bach who wrote really great organ pieces.

Revival of Catholic Organ Music.

With the Restoration of Church music by the Cecilian Society, Catholic Organ-music also, which from the middle of the 18th century, under the pernicious influence of secularized vocal music, had fallen more and more into superficiality and triviality, now improved materially. Though, as has been stated, the organ in the Catholic Liturgy is primarily intended for the accompaniment of the singing, still it gets there ample opportunity for showing its full splendour as "King of Instruments".

While from the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th successful organists like *Eber-*

lin, J. K. F. Fischer, Fux, Murschhauser, Pasterwitz, the Abbé Vogler, and Albrechtsberger are noteworthy, the champion of a new era, in this field, too, was *Kaspar Ett* of Munich, who, by his collection of Preludes and Fugues by the older Masters endeavoured to improve the much distorted taste of the day. Worthy successors of the great organ Masters of olden time are found in our own day in *Bròsig, Bruckner, Habert, Rheinberger, Joseph Renner Jr., Piel, Tinel, Guilmant, Widor, Dubois, Boëli, Bossi, Capocci*, and others, some of whom have also interested themselves in the domain of instrumental sacred music.

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Alphabetical List of Names.

A.

Abbatini 128.
Adam of S. Victor 37.
Agazzari 127.
Agostini 127, 128.
Agricola 89, 100, 148.
Aiblinger 163.
Aichinger 154.
Albrechtsberger 194, 204.
Alcuin 24.
Allegri 126, 162.
Amalar 11.
Ambros 90, 98, 124, 125, 127, 171.
Ambrose 5, 20, 21, 22.
Anerio, Felice 44, 121.
Anerio, Francesco 114, 122.
Animuccia 111, 114.
Antonelli 128.
Antonius Romanus 82.
Arcadelt 111.
Aribo Scholasticus 25.
Arnold von Bruck 152.
Asola 142.
Astorga 131.
Auer 177.
Aurelianus Reomensis 24, 75.

B.

Bach 65, 66, 199, 201.
Baini 119.
Barbireau 94.
Barnard 159.
Bäumker 52, 62.
Bay 127.
Beethoven 192, 201.

Bede 21.
Benevoli 128.
Berger 71.
Bernabei 128.
Bernard, St. 25.
Bernhard, the German 196.
Berno of Reichenau 25.
Biffi 146.
Binchois 92.
Biordi 127.
Boëli 204.
Boëtius 23, 24, 25, 74.
Bone 72.
Boniface 7.
Bossi 204.
Brant, Sebastian 56, 67.
Brentano 71.
Brosig 187, 204.
Bruck 152.
Bruckner 204.
Brumel 99, 195.
Bull, John 200.
Burney 126.
Busnois 93.
Butterfield 178.
Buxtehude 200.
Byrd 158, 159, 200.

C.

Caldara 145.
Calvisius 62, 65.
Capella, Martianus 23, 24.
Capocci 204.
Carissimi 144.
Carmen 82.
Casciolini 127.

Cassiodorus 23, 24.
 Cavalli 144.
 Celestine I 6.
 Celtes 150.
 Cesaris 82.
 Cesti 144.
 Charlemagne 10, 195.
 Charles Borromeo 10, 113.
 Cherubini 194.
 Christoforus de Feltro 82.
 Chrodegang 16.
 Chrysander 202.
 Chrysostomus 4.
 Ciconia 82.
 Cifra 126, 127.
 Claudius Mamertus 18.
 Clemens non Papa 86, 108.
 Colonna 129.
 Compère 100.
 Corner 68.
 Cornysse 157.
 Coussemacker 82.
 Croce 136, 160.

D.

Damasus 5, 15.
 Davy 157.
 De la Rue 99.
 Diebold 177.
 Diepenbrock 71.
 Digon 199.
 Donato 136.
 Donnelly 179.
 Dreves 72.
 Dubois 204.
 Dufay 92.
 Dunstable 91, 156.
 Durante 131.

E.

Eber 64.
 Eberlin 203.
 Ebner 177.

Eccard 66.
 Eichendorff 71.
 Elias Salomo 25.
 Eloy 92.
 Engelbert of Admont 25.
 Engelhart 169.
 Erasmus of Rotterdam 94.
 Erbach 154.
 Escobedo 110, 119.
 Ett 162, 204.
 Eybler 194.

F.

Fagues 92.
 Fairfax 157, 199.
 Festa 110.
 Fétis 102.
 Fevin 101.
 Filke 195.
 Finck 149.
 Foggia 127.
 Fortunatus, Venantius 21.
 Franco of Köln 81.
 Franco of Paris 81.
 Frauenlob, Heinrich 54.
 Frescobaldi 199.
 Froberger 199, 200.
 Fux 155, 204.

G.

Gabrieli, Andrea 137, 139, 153,
 184, 198.
 Gabrieli, Giovanni 138, 153,
 198.
 Gallus (Handl) 154.
 Galuppi 145.
 Gasper 100.
 Gaudio Mell 111, 112.
 Gedeon v. d. Heide 71.
 Geissel 71.
 Gelasius 7, 21.
 Genet 101.
 Gerhoh 52.
 Gesius 66.

Ghiselin 101.
 Giovannelli 124.
 Glarean 28, 96, 99, 101.
 Goller 177.
 Görres 71.
 Gombert 102.
 Gottfried of Strassburg 54.
 Goudimel 111.
 Gramann 64.
 Gregory I 8, 14, 15, 18, 22, 36.
 Gregory VII 10.
 Greith 195.
 Griesbacher 177.
 Grimace 82.
 Guéranger 47.
 Guerrero 110.
 Guido of Arezzo 25, 33, 34, 61, 74.
 Guido of Cherlieu 25.
 Guillaume de Machant 82.
 Guilmant 204.
 Gumpeltzheimer 154.

H.

Haberl 92, 106, 110, 113, 116, 122, 176.
 Habert 204.
 Hahn-Hahn, Ida 72.
 Haller 125, 176.
 Handel 66, 107, 199, 202.
 Handl (Gallus) 154.
 Hans of Konstanz 198.
 Hasse 131.
 Hassler 66, 138, 153.
 Hauber 163.
 Haydn, Joseph 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194.
 Haydn, Michael 194.
 Heinrich of Laufenberg 55, 56.
 Heintz 67.
 Hermannus Contractus 25.
 Hesse 203.

Hobrecht 94, 148.
 Hoffmann von Fallersleben 57.
 Hoffmann, Johann 67.
 Hofhaimer 150.
 Hothboy 157.
 Hucbald of St. Amand 4, 73, 75.

I.

Ingegneri 142.
 Isaac 95, 147, 153.
 Isidor 24.

J.

Jahn 190.
 Japart 101.
 Jerome of Moravia 25.
 Joachim of Burgk 66.
 John I 7.
 John VIII 195.
 John XXII 81.
 John Cotton 25, 80.
 John de Garlandia 25, 81.
 John de Muris 25.
 Jonas 64.
 Josquin de Près 84, 86, 87, 88, 94, 116, 133, 148.
 Judenkunig 151.
 Julius II 109.

K.

Kaspar v. Werbecke 100.
 Kehrein 72.
 Kerll 128, 199.
 Kittel 202.
 Kleber 150, 198.
 Könen 177.
 Konrad of Ruppich 65.
 Konrad of Würzburg 54.
 Kotter 198.
 Krebs 202.
 Kretzschmar 119, 193.
 Ktesibius 195.
 Kuhnau 65, 201.

L

Landino 197.
 Langhans 57.
 Lassus 104.
 Lebrecht 72.
 Lederer 82.
 Legrenzi 144.
 Leisentrit 68.
 Leo I 7.
 Leo XIII 48.
 Leoninus 81.
 Lindenborn 70.
 Liszt 173.
 Lotti 144.
 Ludwig I 162, 164, 168.
 Lupus 101.
 Luscinus 150.
 Luther 57 ff., 68, 102, 153.

M.

Machaut 82.
 Mahu 151.
 Marcello 145.
 Marenzio 125.
 Marchettus of Padua 25.
 Martianus Capella 23.
 Martyn 180.
 Matheus de Perusio 82.
 Mayrhofer 191.
 Mazzocchi 128.
 Melanchthon 58.
 Mendelssohn 203.
 Merulo 138, 198.
 Mettenleiter J. G. 168.
 Meurerer 177.
 Michelis 71.
 Mitterer 114, 176.
 Mohr 72.
 Monteverdi 143, 184.
 Morales 110, 119.
 Morel 72.
 Morley 200.

Mouton 101, 133.
 Mozart 126, 186, 191, 193,
 194.
 Muffat 200.
 Müller, Hans 75.
 Murschhauser 204.
 Muscatblüt, Hans 56.

N.

Nanino, Bernardino 118, 127.
 Nanino, Maria 115, 118, 121.
 Nasimbeni 115.
 Nekes 177.
 Nelle 63.
 Nikolaus of Basel 54.
 Nikolaus of Strassburg 54.
 Nohl 192.
 Notker Balbulus 24, 35, 36,
 37.
 Notker Labeo 24.

O.

Obrecht 94.
 Odo 25.
 Okeghem 93, 94.
 Orlando di Lasso 66, 103,
 104, 184.
 Osiander 66.
 Oswald of Wolckenstein 56.
 Otfried of Weissenburg 52.
 Ottobi 157.

P.

Pachelbel 200.
 Palestrina 44, 101, 104, 106,
 108, 112.
 Paminger 151.
 Pasquini 127.
 Pasterwitz 204.
 Paumann 197.
 Pedrell 119.
 Pepin 10, 195.

Pergolesi 131.
 Perotinus 81.
 Petrus de Cruce 81.
 Philip Neri 111, 115, 116.
 Philipps 160.
 Piel 204.
 Pierre de la Rue 99.
 Pitoni 127, 128.
 Pius X. 48, 49, 110, 174.
 Porta 137.
 Pothier 47, 49.
 Power 157.
 Prātorius, Jakob 200.
 Prātorius, Michael 66.
 Preindl 194.
 Prioris 101.
 Proske 94, 106, 116, 149,
 152, 163.
 Pseudo-Aristotle 81.

Q.

Querhammer 67.

R.

Raimondi 44.
 Regino of Prüm 24, 75.
 Reimann 189.
 Reinken 200.
 Remigius of Auxerre 24, 75.
 Renner jun. 204.
 Rhaw 65.
 Rheinberger 187, 195, 204.
 Riemann 75, 76, 77, 82, 143,
 197.
 Rink 203.
 Ritter 203.
 Robertus de Sabillone 81.
 Rore 134.
 Rovetta 143.
 Rulmann Merswin 54.
 Runge 54.

S.

Salinas 110.
 Sampson 157.
 Sandberger 106.
 Saratelli 146.
 Scarlatti 130, 131.
 Scheidemann 200.
 Scheidt 200.
 Schein 66, 200.
 Schiedermayer 195.
 Schlecht 188, 196.
 Schlick, Arnold 198.
 Schmid 163.
 Schnierich 193.
 Schrems 169, 170.
 Schütz 66, 141, 200.
 Scotus Erigena 75.
 Sedulius 21.
 Seidl 167.
 Senfl 150, 153.
 Sergius I 18.
 Silesius 69.
 Singenberger 177, 180.
 Sixtus IV 109.
 Sleidanus 62.
 Spee 68.
 Speratus 64.
 Stehle 177.
 Stoltzer 150.
 Storck 98, 193.
 Suriano 44, 114, 119, 124.
 Suso 54.
 Süssmayer 189.
 Sweelinck 138, 200.
 Symmachus 7.

T.

Tallis 158.
 Tapissier 82.
 Tauler 54.
 Terry 158.
 Thibaut 162.

Thiele 203.
 Thimus 77.
 Tinel 204.
 Tritonius 150, 151.
 Tuotilo 38.
 Tye 157, 158, 200.

V.

Vaillant 82.
 Valentini 129.
 Van der Straeten 100.
 Vecchi, Orazio 141.
 Vecchi, Orfeo 142.
 Vehe 67.
 Venantius Fortunatus 21.
 Verbonnet 101.
 Viadana 123.
 Vittoria 119.
 Vogler 196, 204.
 Volbach 193.
 Vulpus 66.

W.

Wackernagel 57.
 Wagner, Peter 7, 9, 37, 77,
 135.

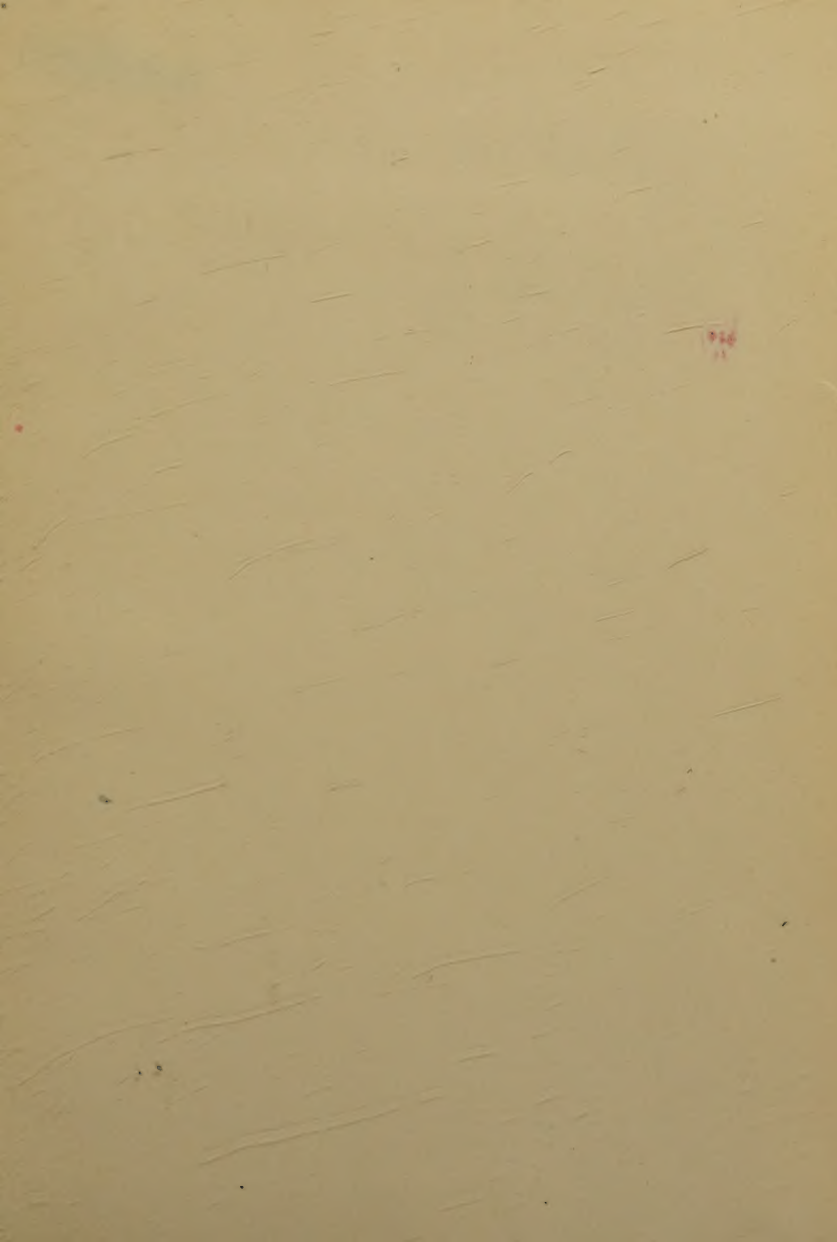
Wagner, Richard 186.
 Walker, Dr. E. 160.
 Walter, Anton 170, 173.
 Walter Odington 25, 81.
 Walther, Johann 65, 152.
 Walther v. der Vogelweide 54.
 Warnefried 21.
 Webbe 177.
 Weber, Beda 72.
 Werbecke 100.
 v. Werkmeister 70.
 Whyte 158.
 Wicelius 67.
 Widor 204.
 Wilhelm of Hirschau 25.
 Willaert 132, 138, 139.
 Wiltberger 177.
 Winterfeld 139.
 Wipo 36.
 Witt 169, 188, 190.
 Wolf Joh. 82, 197.
 Wooldrige 77.

Z.

Zarlino 134, 135.
 Zoilo 44.



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